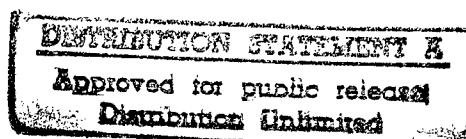


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# ***JPRS Report***



## **Soviet Union**

***Peoples of Asia and Africa***

No 6, November-December 1988

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# Soviet Union

## PEOPLES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

No 6, November-December 1988

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[The following is a translation of the Russian-language bimonthly journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI published in Moscow by the Oriental Studies Institute and the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Refer to the table of contents for a listing of any articles not translated.]

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# Peoples of Asia and Africa

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### English Summaries of Major Articles, NARODY AZII I AFRIKI No 6, 1988

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### [Text] AFRICAN UNITY: ACHIEVEMENTS AND DIFFICULTIES

AN.A. GROMYKO, Z.I. TOKAREVA

Analyzing activities of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for 25 years of its existence, the authors note that, by a number of characteristics, this is a peculiar regional organization which does not have analogues on the contemporary international scene. This is the unique pan-continental organization in the full sense of the term, uniting practically all independent countries of Africa excluding South Africa dominated by the reactionary apartheid regime. In contrast to a number of other regional organizations, the OAU members are only liberated countries of the African continent. The article scrutinizes various aspects of the OAU activities in political, economic, social and cultural fields, difficulties faced by the organization. In the authors' opinion, the OAU has not revealed yet its whole potential.

### TRADITIONAL STRUCTURES AND INSTITUTES OF POWER IN POLITICAL LIFE OF MODERN TROPICAL AFRICA

N.B. KOCHAKOVA

The struggle to remove traditional leaders from governing is an important component of governments' activities in overwhelming majority of states of Tropical Africa after the conquest of political independence, a prerequisite for a successful state formation. Traditional structures of government and power, expressing mainly communal and tribal self-conscience, came in conflict with the aims of a modern state. They were and still remain an auspicious environment for the development of regional separatism. The removal of traditional leaders from the state machinery in the majority of African states created preconditions to weaken their influence at the local level. In 1960s-1980s a number of states undertook steps to reform the system of governing at the local level. However, African governments have to take into consideration the fact that the traditional structures of governing still an important social, political and cultural

basis, keeping authority over big masses of communal peasantry living in conditions of the degrading natural economy, and that only traditional leaders are able to mobilize the masses for the realization of various governmental programs. The role and the position of traditional leaders in the political life of African states remain dual. Modern administrations seek to remove them from governing at the national level, but at the same time they cannot manage without cooperation with traditional leaders who, in the situation of a weak social and class differentiation in African societies and domination of traditional forms of mass conscience, perform functions of a binding link between the people and the state power, and a sort of shock-absorber for social conflicts. Nevertheless, the experience of political development witnesses that nowadays in independent states of Tropical Africa there are no conditions for the social and class consolidation of traditional upper strata, which would be necessary to transform them into an independent political force.

### CONCEPT OF SOCIO-NATURAL HISTORY OF CHINA

E.S. KULPIN

In spite of evident interdependence and interconditionality of destinies of the mankind and the nature, in works of natural scientists and historians they are still divided. The article is an attempt of an integrated analysis of the society and the nature in China, and it puts forward a concept of the socio-natural history of the country. According to this concept, many specific features of the Far Eastern civilization have been conditioned by the fact that in the 1st millenium B.C. China experienced not only social and political but also an ecological crisis, each of them being elements of the single phenomenon—the socio-ecological crisis. The course of its overcoming created the social system which practically has not changed during two millenia and has ensured an unstable socio-ecological balance destroyed merely in the 18th century by a demographic explosion. The latter provoked the second socio-ecological crisis which is not in principle overcome still now. The article includes a comprehensive synchronistic table of natural, social, economic and political processes and phenomena in Chinese civilization.

### SOURCES OF MODERN AFRO-CHRISTIAN CULTURE IN EQUATORIAL AFRICA

#### END OF 19TH—BEGINNING OF 20TH CENTURY

A.A. KARA-MURZA

In the period under consideration in the Equatorial Africa, at the boundary between two cultures confronting each other—the autochthonic culture and the Christian western culture, centres of a cultural and historical synthesis emerged, a new syncretic world with its own laws was created. This new "Afro-Christian" culture

consolidated, in the course of the missionary expansion, various fragments of the destroyed autochthonic society: exactly Christian missions became centres of attraction for unstable elements of traditional structures. At the beginning the bearers of the new synthesized culture were created from former social "outsiders," people who for some reasons came out from the orbit of the traditional tenor of life, became a favourable object for *kulturträger* experiments. Outlying blocks of indigenous structures joined the Christian world, but their main body conserved for a long time its integrity, remaining invulnerable for the Christian expansionism.

The author suggests his own hypothesis about the reasons of the mass Christianization of Equatorial Africa, which transformed this pagan region into a stronghold of the Afro-Christian culture on the continent. In his opinion, this phenomenon of mass Christianization can not be analyzed in the limits of the antithesis "forcible spreading—free-will acception." Not the Christian theology as such, but a by-product of the missionary activities—the use of methods of the European medicine, broke the impenetrability of the traditional world-outlook systems and contributed to their rapid syncretization with the elements of Christian culture.

The article scrutinizes methods of educating a "new Christian elite" in missionary schools. This "new elite" conceived as an instrument of further missionary expansion was gradually transformed into an independent social force with its own, particular interests. The new syncretic culture which received an initial impulse from the missionaries, proved very quickly its ability to a reposition on its own basis beyond the control by white *kulturträger*s. Lawful processes of its self-development in the strict limits of the colonial paternalist society, led to a social instability, a cultural confrontation and, finally, to a series of social cataclysms which were begun by "heretical" religious movements of the 1920s.

#### SOCIALIST ORIENTATION: EXPECTATIONS AND REALITY

A.V. KIVA

The author makes an attempt to analyze the discussion on problems of socialist orientation, launched recently in the Soviet press. He distinguishes three main positions of its participants. A majority of orientalists, while admitting a scientific lawfulness and a political expediency of the concept of socialist orientation as a theoretic substantiation of the possible transition of certain backward countries to socialism evading capitalism or its developed forms, admitting a real existence of the phenomenon of socialist orientation as such, critically consider, however, the level of evaluation of the concept, achievements of countries on the way of revolutionary democracy, historical prospects of the non-capitalist transition to socialism. They call to a realistic approach to inner and outer prerequisites of a socialist oriented development, to socialist forms of being in conditions of social,

economic and cultural backwardness, emphasizing the necessity of clearing the socialist orientation theory from a vulgar marxism, Utopian notions and views, of abandoning a non-critical view on the practice of countries of socialist orientation. The author of the article shares the above-mentioned position.

Another group of social scientists adheres, in general, to the traditional approach to the socialist orientation, formed in the early 1960s. They consider the concept to be elaborated enough, while admitting a possibility of more precise definition or elaboration of a number of its aspects. They are convinced that the practice of countries of revolutionary democracy proved its vital capacity. This group admits serious difficulties met by the countries of socialist orientation, but suppose them to be a natural result of development of these countries on a new way in a real historical situation. Unfortunately, the position of this group is more declarative than argumented.

Finally, a less numerous group of Soviet scholars considers all attempts to review the traditional notions on a non-capitalist transition of backward countries to socialism as unacceptable. The concept of socialist orientation is declared to be a perfect, reliable guide-line, this way being the most historically prospective for liberated countries. Moreover, every attempt of a critical analysis of the theory and practice of socialist orientation are considered as contradicting the marxism-leninism. The article, in its turn, evaluates this position as non-prospective and, in essence, oriented against the perestroika.

The author exposes his views on possibilities of adjustment of the theory and practice of socialist orientation, emphasizing difficulties associated with a non-capitalist transition of backward countries to socialism.

#### EAST AND WEST: AN ENTITY OR AN ANTITHESIS?

V.V. CHUBAROV

In the author's opinion, an attempt undertaken by L.B. Alayev (see "Formational Characteristics of Feudalism and the East," 1987, No 3) to synthesize the "classic formational" concept and the "Asian mode of production," to explain European phenomena through the East (usually European historians tried to do the contrary) was not successful because, in essence, L.B. Alayev advocated a slightly modified "classic" model in an original interpretation.

The author of the present article makes a conclusion about the necessity of some adjustment of methodics for studying the East and the West. To fruitfully solve the "East-West" problem researches should be focused on the human factor, his development and psychology, especially, we should investigate fields reflecting changes in individual and collective psychology, for instance,

development rates of technics and technology in different periods and in various regions. An accelerated or slow development, a progress or a regress, an alternation of these periods do reflect changes of the "psychological" state of a society.

The rates of technological development in big human communities which successfully overcame the neolithic age and continued their development, can serve as the basis for identification of, at least, 4 stages of growth. The article defines them as: 1) the pre-formative; 2) the formative; 3) the impulsive; and 4) the post-impulsive stages.

Further, the author applies the created model of development of society to concrete historical events, with a comparative analysis of the European and the Asian history, and makes the conclusion that these regions are at different stages of growth and this predetermines to a significant extent the dissimilarity of their social structures.

#### "NEW TEACHING ON LANGUAGE" AND ORIENTALIST LINGUISTICS

V.M. ALPATOV

For more than 20 years (from 1928-1929 to 1950) the so called "new teaching on language" of the academician N.Ya. Marr has been recognized as an official dogma in the Soviet linguistics. The theory caused a huge prejudice to the development of the whole Soviet science of language, in particular, the oriental linguistics. Seeking to monopolize linguistics by his teaching, Marr adroitly used views of state and party leaders, persecuted not only direct opponents of his teaching, but also all researchers who did not share his pseudo-scientific ideas. Marr's followers did not confine themselves to accusations in press. Chairs were closed, qualified specialists were dismissed, books prepared for edition were banned.

The situation in the linguistics of that period reflected the scientific life of the country in general, when ideas of one school, often erroneous or even anti-scientific, were declared to be the only true, marxist way, and everything beyond the limits of this dogma to be "bourgeois" and ideologically vicious. These processes closely associated with the ideology of the cult of personality, were influenced and supported by I.V. Stalin.

In 1949 A.S. Chikobava, one of the persecuted, addressed a letter to Stalin. In 1950 "Pravda" launched a discussion on the linguistics, in the course of which the "new teaching on language" was seriously criticized and its scientific unfoundedness was demonstrated. The discussion resulted in an official rejection of the Marr's teaching, but the general principle of the state interference in science remained immovable.

#### AGRICULTURE IN CH'IN EMPIRE: BAMBOO LATHS FROM SHUIHUDI

Till recently researchers of the Ch'in empire did not have at their disposal such most important historical sources as synchronous texts on bamboo or wooden laths. This lack has been met by a unique find made in Shuihudi (Yunmeng district of Hupei province) several years ago when laying a drain canal. Archaeologists discovered an ancient burial with 1155 well conserved bamboo laths covered by notes. Their study showed that the researchers got extensive materials on the history of Ch'in society, mainly of the 3rd century B.C. The notes were fragments from the Ch'in administrative and economic code. The discovery allowed to have tangible notions on the real, everyday life of people who lived more than two thousand years ago. In a number of countries historians dealing with the ancient history of China, naturally, showed a keen interest in it.

The suggested publication is the first complete Russian translation of three sets of rules from the section "Eighteen Ch'in sets of rules"—"The rule on fields," "The rules on stables and parks" and "The rules on granaries." The publication is supplied with a detailed introduction including a description of the sources and a review of their researches in various countries, and a textological commentary.

Introduction, Translation from the Chinese and Commentary by E.V. Golovanov. COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki". Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1988

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**Achievements, Difficulties of African Unity**  
18070186d Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in  
Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 88 pp 5-14

[Article by An.A. Gromyko and Z.I. Tokareva: "African Unity: Achievements and Difficulties"]

[Text] *The Organization for African Unity has now become a factor in world politics. It is making a palpable contribution to solving the acute problems of the African continent, but its activity is complicated by the contradictory interests and aspirations and the ideological differences of its member countries. The capabilities of this organization have not yet been completely revealed.*

The necessity of uniting the efforts of the peoples and countries of Africa for conclusive liberation from colonial rule, protection of national sovereignty and creation of conditions for independent economic, social and cultural development was always clear. But how could this task be accomplished in practice, what organizational and functional mechanism should be created? There were no ready prescriptions for resolving this task, and searches were conducted. Various ideas were

advanced and various forms of integration of the African countries proposed, for example a political union of African states in the form of a federation with a national administrative body. The eminent political and state figure and first president of Ghana, Kwame Nkruma, was one of the most active proponents of incarnating this idea. Some other African leaders were at the same time in favor of a form of integration of the countries of Africa in which they would preserve their sovereignty entirely, and would have the opportunity of resolving urgent problems together and coordinating their activity in the international arena. It was namely this approach to resolving the issue of uniting the African countries within the framework of a unified organization that ultimately found the greatest number of advocates.

No few efforts were required on the part of the widely acknowledged African leaders of the 1950s and 1960s before the criteria that have served for a quarter of a century as the basis for the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) were devised.

The OAU is an original regional organization without analogue in the contemporary international arena in a number of its characteristics. It is first and foremost the sole continent-wide organization in the fullest sense of the word, insofar as it unites practically all of the independent nations of Africa. Access is closed just to South Africa, where the reactionary apartheid regime rules. The OAU—as opposed to other regional organizations in which the leading capitalist states are represented along with the developing countries (such as, for example, the Organization of American States)—includes only the liberated countries of the African continent. Finally, the OAU is an organization whose activity is multi-tiered and embraces a broad circle of problems of a political, economic, social and cultural nature.

The road the OAU has covered is not simple and not easy; it is marked with successes, failures and compromises. It is thus scarcely possible to describe the 25-year activity of the OAU using only such polar terms as "good" or "bad," and to choose only two colors—either "white" or "black"—from a multi-colored palette. A considered approach and sober, objective analysis are required when considering various aspects of OAU activity.

If we try to define in most laconic form the main goals that the OAU has been subordinate to since the moment of its inception, they are very precisely reflected in the slogan "Unity, solidarity, liberation, development" that was advanced by the Africa-wide organization on the occasion of its 25th anniversary.

The most important political task the OAU has faced over the span of its entire existence has been the destruction of colonialism in all its forms in Africa. A document with the name "Decolonization" that was adopted at the May 1963 Founding Conference defined the measures

that the member countries are obliged to implement so as to accelerate the "unconditional achievement of national independence by all African territories that are under foreign rule."<sup>1</sup> This same document proclaimed the creation of a Special Fund to render practical and financial aid to various national-liberation movements in Africa and a Coordinating Committee (Liberation Committee) that was charged with maintaining ties with all of these movements and coordinating aid grants to them. Recall that it was namely the "Decolonization" document that first announced the decision of the independent African states to proclaim May 25 African Liberation Day, which has been celebrated every year since 1963 by the progressive forces of the world. The OAU facilitated the achievement of independence by many African countries through its anti-colonial activity in the 1960s and 1970s. After Zimbabwe achieved national sovereignty in 1980 as the result of many years of heroic struggle by its people against British colonial dominion, the fight against racism with the elimination of the shameful system of apartheid in South Africa and the independence of Namibia, illegally occupied by the troops of that regime, has become the chief political goal of the OAU.

The basic position of the OAU that not a single African state can consider the preservation of its sovereignty and independence guaranteed while an explosive situation is preserved in the southern part of the continent through the fault of the racist authorities of South Africa is exceedingly important.

One often encounters statements in both the Western and the African press that the OAU limits its activity in solving the problems of southern Africa just to the verbal condemnation of the system of racial oppression in South Africa. But in reality that is not so. As was noted above, the OAU—through its special body, the Liberation Committee—systematically renders financial and material aid to the national-liberation movements of southern Africa. The OAU has waged a dogged struggle for many years for the application of all-encompassing economic sanctions against the Pretoria regime, having created a Standing Committee on Sanctions within its structure. The OAU persistently calls the attention of the world community to the problems of southern Africa; these problems, including the Namibian one, have been discussed repeatedly at the UN and other international forums at its initiative. The OAU, in demanding the implementation of the right of the Namibian people to self-determination, assumes that this can be achieved on the basis of the well-known UN Security Council Resolution 435, which envisages the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and the holding of internationally monitored elections there for a Constituent Assembly that would then adopt a constitution for the country.

The OAU has welcomed the negotiations that were begun in May 1988 between the governments of Angola, Cuba and South Africa (with the mediation of the

United States) on southwestern Africa. The Africa-wide organization proceeds from the fact that the agreement reached on a number of issues in the process of those negotiations opens the way for the granting of independence to Namibia within the framework of the aforementioned Resolution 435 and the restoration of peace in Angola after the 13-year war that the racist regime of South Africa has effectively been waging against it.

The realistic evaluation of the process of peaceful break-up of the conflict that has begun in southwestern Africa, however, undoubtedly does not signify any weakening of the position of the OAU relative to the necessity of strengthening the struggle for the fastest possible dissolution of the system of apartheid in South Africa. The Africa-wide organization continues to regard armed resistance as the most effective means of forcing the Pretoria regime to accept terms that meet the hopes and aspirations of the African majority of the South African population. The Addis Ababa Declaration adopted at the 24th Session of the OAU Assembly in 1988 on the occasion of the organization's 25th anniversary also states that the member countries affirm "the paramount significance of armed forms of struggle and their determination to increase financial, material and military aid to the national-liberation movements so that they may make their armed struggle more active."<sup>2</sup> The question arises of whether this position contradicts the OAU's well-known declarations that the peaceful path for the liberation of the peoples of southern Africa is the most preferable one. A realistic analysis of the situation in southern Africa makes it possible to feel that no such contradiction exists. The OAU undoubtedly remains an advocate of resolving any conflicts and disputed issues using peaceful means. The actions of the racists, however, testify to the fact that they not only do not intend to eliminate apartheid, but are on the contrary strengthening repression against the fighters against that system. Visible testimony to this was the ban imposed by the South African authorities in February 1988 on the activity of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and 15 other mass democratic organizations that are against apartheid. This new repressive act by Pretoria has been decisively condemned by the OAU. The Africa-wide organization is a consistent critic of certain states in the West for their collaboration with the Pretoria regime. The OAU with good reason sees this collaboration as one of the chief reasons that the racists in South Africa are able to preserve their inhuman regime.

The OAU, however, while practicing various forms and methods of aiding the national-liberation movements of South Africa and the "front-line" states against whom the Pretoria regime is undertaking aggressive military actions, has a self-critical regard for its own actions in this realm and considers a search for additional means and methods that could bring the solution of the knot of problems in southern Africa closer to be essential. It is obvious that it is namely these considerations that dictated the resolution of the 22nd Session of the OAU



Assembly (1986, Addis Ababa) to create a special standing committee of the heads of state to devise initiatives that would facilitate the most rapid possible elimination of apartheid in South Africa and the achievement of independence in Namibia. This session deemed it essential to launch a propaganda campaign in the countries of Africa through youth, women's, trade-union and other public organizations so as to demonstrate the true anti-human essence of the system of apartheid and expose the efforts of the South African authorities to depict this system as supposedly wholly acceptable for the Africans. The 23rd Session of the OAU Assembly (1987), continuing its efforts to involve the broad masses of society in the countries of the continent in the fight to liberate the peoples of southern Africa, called for the creation of national committees for the struggle against apartheid in those African countries where there were none and was in favor of the founding of an Africa-wide association that would unite all such committees. The participants in the session supported the idea of creating an Africa-wide association of writers that through its activity could facilitate the mobilization of world public opinion in the fight against apartheid.

The attempts of the OAU to raise the effectiveness of its efforts aimed at resolving the complex and multi-tiered conflict in southern Africa and the search for new political means and methods that would facilitate an acceleration of this process along with an understanding of the need for certain compromises in the face of the unshakability of the basic anti-apartheid position all testify to the fact that elements of the new political thinking are being perceived more and more palpably by the Africa-wide organization.

We turn to another area of OAU activity that is taking on ever broader scope.

In recent years the OAU has appreciably strengthened its attention to the multitude of complex economic problems of the continent. One of the chief aims of the OAU has been formulated in its charter as "reinforcing collaboration among the African nations and coordinating their efforts aimed at creating better conditions for existence for the peoples of Africa."<sup>3</sup> Proceeding from this, the Africa-wide organization sees its mission as assisting to the maximum the economic development of its member countries. A resolution on economic problems was adopted among other documents as early as at the Founding Conference in May of 1963 that emphasized in particular the necessity of expanding inter-African trade relations. Issues of an economic nature were discussed at summit forums of the OAU and at sessions of its Council of Ministers that were held in the 1960s and 1970s. The 15th Session of the OAU Council of Ministers (August 1970, Addis Ababa) adopted a memorandum on the obligations and role of the organization itself in the economic and social realms.<sup>4</sup> This document noted that the OAU has been called upon to become a body that would develop and coordinate measures for the economic and social development of

Africa. The OAU has been charged with the task of assisting the realization of programs for the development of regional collaboration, accelerating the process of industrial development of the continent and expanding inter-African trade ties and collaboration in the realm of currency, among others. The OAU held several forums in the 1970s at which diverse economic problems were discussed and ways of resolving them projected, for example the conference of the ministers of economics and finance on currency, finance and trade issues (Dakar, 1972) and the colloquium convened for a comprehensive discussion of the prospects for the development of Africa for the period to the year 2000 (Monrovia, 1979) among others. But while the OAU has regularly addressed economic problems during this period, the solutions it has adopted have not been concrete enough in nature, which has significantly reduced the efficacy of their efforts.

The economic crisis that has gripped the countries of Africa since the end of the 1970s has shown with all clarity the need to adopt urgent measures to solve problems that in the aggregate define the scale and gravity of the crisis. OAU General Secretary Yde Oumarou, speaking at a conference dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the OAU (Cairo, January 1988) cited among these problems the backwardness of agriculture, the lack of self-sufficiency in foodstuffs, hunger, the poor technical sophistication of the economy, economic growth rates that have been slowing from year to year, the increasing pressure on economic policy on the part of the IMF and other international banking institutions, the continuing decline in prices for African raw materials and the enormous foreign indebtedness, for the payment of which certain countries of Africa must sometimes expend all of their export receipts.<sup>5</sup>

The decisions made at the summit forums of the OAU in the 1980s testify to the fact that it feels that one of the most effective ways of overcoming backwardness in the economies of the African countries is the maximum mobilization of their internal resources—natural, economic and human. Such a position is not a new one in and of itself, since the slogan of relying primarily on intrinsic resources has been advanced in Africa before. The persistence with which the OAU has been raising this issue in recent years is most likely explained by the fact that the African countries have lost faith in the possibility of getting out of the crisis economic state chiefly by counting on foreign aid. It is becoming more and more obvious that foreign aid is effective only as a factor supplementing development efforts.

An orientation toward the mobilization of internal resources for the countries of Africa has been clearly defined in the document that has received the name of the Lagos Plan of Action. This plan, adopted at the Second Extraordinary Session of the OAU Assembly (Lagos, 1980) contains, as is well known, recommendations for African economic development strategy to the year 2000.

Issues connected with the necessity of the maximum utilization of the intrinsic resources of the African countries and weakening the dependence of their economies on external factors were discussed at practically all summit meetings of the OAU member countries that took place in the 1980s. In emphasizing the importance of solving this problem and with a critical regard for the position of the Western countries that are opposing the establishment of a new international economic order, J. Nyerere, speaking to the participants in the 20th Session of the OAU Assembly in 1984 where he was elected chairman of the organization, said that "In the face of such an attitude toward world problems by the economically developed powers, we here in Africa have no other choice but to unite our efforts in the struggle for self-determination at both the regional and national levels. Each country separately is weak. All together we could make Africa stronger."<sup>6</sup>

The OAU sees especial opportunities for the practical implementation of the slogan of collective reliance of the African countries on intrinsic forces in an expansion of the scale of economic collaboration and integration. They assign great significance in this regard to the activity of various sub-regional organizations (Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), West African Economic Community (CEAO), Economic Community of the Central African Countries (CEAC), South African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) and the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) among others), as well as the organizations operating in comparatively narrow geographical frameworks and with a more concrete thrust of purpose (Senegalese River Assimilation Organization and the Lake Chad Basin Countries Commission among others).

Recognizing the necessity of a maximum orientation toward intrinsic forces and the development of inter-African economic collaboration, the OAU of course also does not rule out the preservation of the extreme vested interest of the African countries in a further influx of foreign aid. The OAU proceeds from the fact that the efforts of the African states themselves should be intelligently combined with aid from the international community earmarked first and foremost for development purposes.

The OAU devotes the most attention to the economic problems that are especially acute for the African countries and demand immediate solution. They include first and foremost the problem of the extreme backwardness of agriculture, the shortage of foodstuffs and, as a consequence of that, the widespread nature of hunger in a number of the countries of Africa. Concrete proposals that are called upon to assist in the solution of these most vitally important problems for the peoples of the continent have been developed within the framework of the OAU. The member countries have in particular, at the recommendation of the OAU, taken on the obligation of achieving an increase of no less than 20-25 percent in the share of appropriations of the state budget for the needs

of agriculture over 1985-89. The Special Fund for Urgent Aid to Fight Hunger and Drought in Africa, created by decision of the OAU summit forum, has been in operation since 1986. Aid has been rendered out of the funds of this body (collected primarily through the voluntary contributions of the OAU member countries) to more than ten African states over the two years of its existence (Burkina-Faso, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Chad and Ethiopia among others) where agriculture has suffered especially heavily from drought and other natural disasters.

The extremely acute problem for the continent of foreign indebtedness, which has now surpassed 220 billion dollars, is eliciting the strongest concern of the all-Africa organization. The sub-Saharan countries allocate an average of about 35 percent of their export receipts to service their foreign debt, and some are forced to spend all of them for this purpose. According to the estimates of experts, the overall foreign debt of the African countries will reach 600 billion dollars by the year 2000 with the preservation of the current growth rates, and the payments will consume about 72 percent of the export income of those countries every year. In this critical situation, caused by the catastrophic rise of the foreign debt of Africa, the OAU considered it essential to convene an extraordinary session of the assembly (the third in the 25-year history of the organization) dedicated to this problem. At the extraordinary session (Addis Ababa, November-December 1987), it was acknowledged in self-critical fashion that the formation of the enormous foreign indebtedness has been facilitated by the excessive orientation of the African countries to the receipt of funds from without, their often unjustified expenditure on unprofitable prestige projects, insufficiently skilled management of foreign debt servicing and a number of other internal causes. But the problem of foreign debt has been worsened to an even greater degree by the enormous drain of capital from Africa, the increasing gap between the declining prices for the raw materials exported by the African countries and the rising prices for the industrial goods they import from the capitalist countries, the instability of currency exchange rates in the world capitalist economic system, the overall worsening of the terms for granting borrowed funds to the African countries and many other reasons of an external nature. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, elected chairman of the OAU for the next term in July of 1987, in his speech to the Third Extraordinary Session of the Assembly placed the blame for the formation of the enormous foreign debt of Africa on the former mother countries, who left the continent without funds for development purposes and thereby impelled the African nations to turn to foreign sources of financing. The participants in the extraordinary session agreed with the overall basic position on the issue of foreign indebtedness, the essence of which consists of the fact that they recognize their financial obligations, but they are unable to meet them in the stipulated time periods. Specific proposals were made to settle the problem of paying off foreign debt that

were addressed to foreign creditors, and recommendations were devised for the maximum utilization of the capabilities of the African countries themselves for this purpose. The final documents of the session, along with the specific proposals, also contained the legitimate conclusion that solving the problem of foreign indebtedness is impossible without serious structural changes in the world economic order. This conclusion is consonant with the position of the Soviet Union, which is in favor of creating an all-encompassing system of economic security and directing some of the funds that could be freed up as the result of reductions in the arms race to solving the most acute problems of mankind, especially the developing countries.

The session once again expressed support for the proposals that had been devised earlier by the OAU for holding an international conference on the problem of the foreign indebtedness of Africa. A "contact group" consisting of 12 heads of state that was specially created for the purpose at the 47th Session of the OAU Council of Ministers (February 1988) is engaged in preparing for convening this conference. But they were unable to hold the international conference in 1988 as had been proposed, as the majority of the Western creditor countries do not support this OAU initiative but are rather in favor of settling issues of the foreign indebtedness of the African countries on a bilateral basis. The 24th Session of the OAU Assembly (May 1988, Addis Ababa) resolved in this regard to continue the work of the "contact group" to elaborate the positions of the African states relative to this problem and to postpone the deadline for convening the international conference to 1989. The OAU has displayed important initiative in having proposed the convocation of a special session of the UN General Assembly in 1986 to consider the crisis economic state in Africa. The documents prepared by the OAU in conjunction with the UN Economic Commission for Africa were at the foundation of the draft resolution containing the Paramount Program of UN Actions to Ensure the Economic Ascent and Development of Africa in 1986-90 that was adopted by the UN General Assembly special session.

All of the decisions of the OAU on economic issues, as well as those concrete measures it adopts, testify to the fact that they see the path to surmounting the crisis state of the economy on the continent first and foremost in uniting the efforts of the African countries and expanding and reinforcing their mutual collaboration. It should be noted in this regard that the OAU is undertaking efforts to create an Africa-wide economic community as envisaged by the Lagos Plan of Action. At the charge of the 23rd Session of the OAU Assembly, its Special Committee for Devising Recommendations in the Economic and Social Realms is preparing a draft agreement on the founding of such a community with a regard for the experience of the activity of the sub-regional economic organizations that exist on the continent.

The increasing attention of the OAU toward the most important problems for the African people is also

affirmed in the intensification of its activity aimed at ensuring peace and security in Africa. These issues were within the field of view of this Africa-wide organization as early as in the 1960s. The OAU has essentially been striving since its creation to see that the Declaration to Turn Africa into a Nuclear-Free Zone that it devised is adopted by the UN General Assembly. The all-Africa organization wholly justifiably sees a threat to the security of the continent in the creation of a nuclear potential by the racist regime in South Africa. The participants in the 24th Session of the OAU Assembly expressed alarm on this score once again. The organization is attracting the attention of world public opinion to this issue. It is well known that the member countries of the OAU have put before MAGATE the issue of the need to see that South African authorities allow the institution of inspections and monitoring of the nuclear installations that exist there.

The fact that the OAU links the problem of ensuring the peace and security of Africa with the need to fight for the preservation of universal peace, disarmament and avoidance of the threat of nuclear war is a typical feature of its antiwar activity in recent years. This was demonstrated with especial conviction by the 23rd Session of the OAU Assembly (July 1987). The final documents it adopted on issues of preserving peace in Africa and outside its boundaries testify to the fact that the OAU is convinced that national security cannot be ensured on the path of increasing armaments, especially nuclear ones. The highest forum of the OAU, on the contrary, has declared that universal and complete disarmament is the "main factor for establishing peace and assisting development."<sup>7</sup>

This OAU position acquires especial significance in light of a historic event—the treaty concluded by the USSR and the United States on the elimination of intermediate- and short-range missiles. The participants in the February 1988 47th Session of the OAU Council of Ministers welcomed this important step by the governments of the USSR and the United States on the road to achieving complete nuclear disarmament. The significance of the treaty was highly regarded as a real tool for easing the danger of the outbreak of war and for strengthening international peace and security by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and the leaders of many other African nations. In a statement for the press, OAU General Secretary Yde Oumarou noted the great significance of the Moscow meeting of M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan and had a high regard for its results. The 24th Session of the OAU Assembly approved the resolution developed by the 48th Session of the Council of Ministers that welcomed the negotiations between the USSR and the United States on issues of disarmament. The resolution also emphasized that "the countries of the Third World should play a more active and positive role in the process of detente and participate in it equally in the interests of the whole international community."<sup>8</sup>

In recent years the African member countries of the OAU have taken part more and more in the work of various international forums on issues of universal peace and security, for example the International Conference on the Interconnection of Disarmament and Development that took place in New York in 1987. Major functions of an antiwar nature have also been held on the African continent. A certain share of the credit for this belongs to the OAU.

The activity of the OAU, as has been noted, is multifaceted. It is making great efforts to assist the social and cultural progress of the African peoples. Issues of the observance of human rights, the spiritual decolonization of the Africans, the resurrection and development of their national and original cultures, the organization of an African information system, improvements in the state of education, health care, living conditions for children (the OAU proclaimed 1988 the Year of the Child in Africa), the protection of the rights of women and many other issues of a social nature all fall within the field of view of the OAU. The OAU has made its activity aimed at developing science on the continent more active of late. The preparation and holding of the First Congress of African Scientists in Brazzaville in June of 1987 in conjunction with UNESCO was a very important function in this realm. One of the principal resolutions of the congress, envisaging the creation of an All-Africa Scientific and Technological Union, is already being brought to life.

Such a vitally important problem for the continent as the protection of the environment is also not escaping the notice of the OAU. When the attempts of some MNCs [multinational corporations] and private companies of certain Western countries to conclude an agreement with several African states to bury radioactive and other harmful industrial wastes on their territory became known in 1988, the OAU came out decisively against this. A special resolution of the 48th Session of the OAU Council of Ministers (May 1988, Addis Ababa) declared that the disposal of such wastes is a crime against Africa and its peoples. The resolution condemns the MNCs and private companies that are trying to ship to Africa and bury toxic wastes by various means and are demanding the annulment of contracts already concluded on this issue. A summit meeting following the session of the Council of Ministers also came out with a protest against the burial of radioactive and other harmful industrial wastes on African territory.

The activity of the OAU is encountering no few difficulties. The insufficient effectiveness of OAU efforts in such a complex realm as settling conflicts among its individual member countries, for instance, is noticeable. It should be noted for the sake of fairness that over the quarter century of its existence, the OAU has more than once facilitated the normalization of bilateral relations that had worsened between African states, most often due to border disputes. One example of the latter could be the active role of the OAU in settling the border

dispute that arose between Mali and Burkina Faso. The OAU recently facilitated the normalization of relations among other African states, and in particular Ethiopia and Somalia, Uganda and Kenya, Libya and Tunisia and Algeria and Morocco. At the same time, conflicts in some other sub-regions of Africa remain unresolved, and this circumstance creates fertile ground for the complication of inter-African relations. If we are speaking, for example, of the problem of the West Sahara, it is well known that the OAU was occupied with it for many years and ultimately devised a position whose essence is that the people of the West Sahara should implement their right to self-determination via the holding of a free referendum under the aegis of the OAU and the UN without any administrative or military interference whatsoever. In the course of practical preparations for the referendum, which is now being done by the UN directly, a compromise solution to some disputed issues was found. But questions that require some convergence of the positions of the conflicting parties remain as well.

The Chad problem has elicited the especial concern of the OAU for a long time now. It is well known that many of the summit meetings of the organization that were held in the 1970s and 1980s discussed the issue of settling the Chad conflict, it was and is occupying special committees and many African leaders have made great efforts to find peaceful solutions for the conflict. And the OAU played no small role in the fact that a cessation of military operations was achieved in September of 1987. It is continuing to seek persistently a settlement in the aggregate for the issues that brought about the outbreak of the conflict in Chad. The OAU is devoting particular attention of late to such an aspect of the Chad conflict as the ancient dispute between Libya and Chad due to the territorial affiliation of a small border section—the Aozou strip. A special committee of the OAU created as early as 1977 is engaged in seeking a peaceful solution to this dispute. Negotiations were held with its mediation in June 1988 in the Gabon capital of Libreville between the ministers of foreign affairs of Libya and Chad, and real prospects for a settlement of the disputed issue and, consequently, the normalization of relations between these two member states of the OAU thus took shape.

There have of course been failures and mistakes in the multi-tiered and fruitful activity of the OAU—as for any other international organization, by the way, the more so one so heterogeneous in composition. It is enough to recall the OAU crisis in 1982, when they were twice unable to convene the regular 19th Session of its Assembly at the planned times. In the first instance the stumbling block, as is well known, was the issue of the presence at the session of a delegation from the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and, consequently, its effective acceptance into the organization, to which a large number of member countries objected. The essential  $\frac{2}{3}$  quorum was not ensured the second time due to differences on the issue of who should represent Chad at the session: the Habre government or the Transitional Government of National Unity that opposed him at the time

and had taken up residence in the northern part of the country in the city of Bardai. These issues were ultimately settled and the session was held, but in 1983. It is possible that had more attention been paid in advance to seeking a way of surmounting these differences, the OAU would not have been at the brink of schism. Another weak aspect of the all-Africa organization is the fact that it is far from always able to realize in practice the decisions it makes. And this is in turn connected to a significant extent with the fact that the OAU Charter does not envisage the compulsory fulfillment of the decisions of the summit forum of the organization by the member countries.

But these dark elements do not provide grounds for an overall pessimistic evaluation of the activity of the Africa-wide organization, as is frequently encountered in the Western press, which makes use of any pretext to emphasize the weakness and ineffectiveness of the OAU and to predict its early demise.

Of course, a balanced approach is essential for a realistic appraisal of the results of the road that has been covered by the OAU in its 25 years of existence. The analytical description of various organizations of the developing countries that was contained in the report of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev "October and Restructuring: The Revolution Continues" is entirely applicable to the OAU: "In organizations reflecting the processes of international consolidation of the developing countries," M.S. Gorbachev noted, "the force of originality and independent activity is acting more and more expressively and actively. This is more or less typical of all the organizations, and there are many of them: the Organization for African Unity, the League of Arab Nations, ASEAN, the Organization of American States, the Latin American Economic System, the South Pacific Forum, the Association for Regional Collaboration of South Asia, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and, especially, the non-aligned movement. They reflect a kaleidoscope of contradictory interests, needs, aspirations, ideologies, claims and prejudices of namely this stage. All of them, although they are now an appreciable factor in world politics, have not yet revealed their capabilities. But the potential here is colossal, and it is difficult to predict the results for even the next half century. One thing is clear—this is a whole world seeking organizational forms for its effective and equal participation in resolving the issues of all mankind."<sup>9</sup>

The main result of the 25 years of existence of the OAU could with complete justification be considered the fact that, operating in the difficult climate of contemporary Africa with its complex and contradictory development processes, the organization has maintained its vitality and determination to continue and strengthen the fight to achieve the most urgent aims of the countries of Africa. They are completely decolonizing the continent, strengthening the independence of the African states, overcoming the crisis in their economies and bringing

them up, along with ensuring the social and cultural progress of the African peoples and a healthy and stable political climate with peace and security in Africa. The OAU is not currently advancing any new global aims at all, but rather sees with complete justification its most important task as seeing that, realistically considering inherent capabilities and not jumping ahead, a more concrete nature is imparted to its activity and that its efficacy is raised.

The multi-varied activity of this Africa-wide organization invariably has had and does have the support of the Soviet Union since the moment of its creation. Our country has a high regard for the efforts of the OAU aimed at solving the political, economic, social and cultural problems of the continent and opposing the enemies of African unity with its firm will. The Soviet Union constantly notes that the creation of the OAU and its activity are facilitating a rise in the role of the African states on the world stage. It considers the OAU to be an influential international organization furthering the positive resolution of the fundamental problems of modern times.

Soviet people have an understanding attitude toward the difficulties that the OAU is encountering. The activity of this Africa-wide organization are frequently complicated by instances of clear interference from without on the part of the enemies of unity and independence for Africa, as well as causes of an internal nature, especially the extremely variegated political and socio-economic composition of its member countries. The Soviet Union has a high regard for the efforts being undertaken by the OAU to achieve the noble aims for which it was created: reinforcing the unity, solidarity and cohesion of the countries and peoples of Africa.

#### Footnotes

1. Organization of African Unity. (History of Creation and Activity). Anthology of Documents. Moscow, 1970, p 44.

2. Organization of African Unity. Addis Ababa Declaration of the Heads of State and Governments on the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Organization of African Unity. AHG/Decl. I (XXIV).

3. Organization of African Unity. (History of Creation and Activity), p 37.

4. Organization of African Unity. (Anthology of Documents). Ed. 3 (1970-73). Moscow, 1976, p 79.

5. Allocution de S.E. Yde Oumarou, secretaire generale de l'OUA, au Simposium sur le 25-eme anniversaire de l'OUA, organise par l'Egypte. Le Caire, 25 Janvier 1988, pp 22-23.

6. AHG/(XX). President Nyerere's Address to the OAU Summit Meeting at Addis Ababa, November 1984 When Accepting Chairmanship. Addis Ababa, 1984.

7. Organization of African Unity. Declarations and Resolutions of the 23rd Regular Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Governments. AHG/Res. 164 (XXIII).

8. Organization of African Unity. Resolution of the 48th Regular Session of the Council of Ministers as Adopted by the Council of Ministers. CM/Res. 1158 (XLVIII).

9. PRAVDA, 3 Nov 87. COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki", Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1988

### Problems of Socialist Orientation

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[Article by A.V. Kiva under the rubric "Questions of Methodology": "Socialist Orientation: Expectations and Reality"]

[Text] *The author, who has studied the problems of socialist orientation for many years and published a number of works on this topic, concludes that the tenets that have become fixed in Soviet academics relative to the historical phenomenon of socialist orientation, as well as the opinions that were expressed regarding it earlier, cannot be deemed scientifically substantiated. It is essential to reject decisively dogmatic and voluntaristic notions on this score and to evaluate the real situation of the countries that have declared their socialist choice without ascribing to them capabilities they do not have. What are the principal elements of this evaluation?*

Interest has grown in the problems of socialist orientation in recent years as reflected both in the debates that have taken place at a number of academic institutions and in the academic press. Debates have taken place in particular at the Africa Institute (October 1987) and the Oriental Studies Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences (March 1987); an academic seminar was held at the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences (April 1988) on this topic with the invitation of scholars from other institutes, while a number of practical organizations have conducted working meetings on this problem.

The discussion of the problems of socialist orientation, to the study of which the author of this article has devoted many years—unfortunately without avoiding some erroneous judgments on a number of aspects of this historical phenomenon—should be deemed timely, necessary and even inevitable. During the period of profound revolutionary restructuring in our society, we must look anew, as it were, at many accustomed tenets, seeming unshakable as recently as yesterday, consider them through the prism of creative Marxism-Leninism

and the new political thinking, and evaluate them from the viewpoint of the genuine interests of socialism and world social progress. With such an approach it often proves that many fixed and seemingly generally accepted tenets, notions, judgments etc. are in fact not scientifically substantiated and do not withstand criticism, or are already outdated by historical practice.

It is well known that the party, after the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, revealed the unfavorable state of affairs in Soviet social sciences and its considerable lag in analyzing and summarizing the changes that had transpired in our society and in the world overall, and pointed out its striking dogmatism and subjectivism. The concept of socialist orientation is an important constituent element of social science. It is also an indispensable part of Marxist-Leninist theory of socialist orientation.

In light of the above, a most careful analysis of both the classical theoretical legacy, to the extent that it concerns the problems of the transition of various societies to socialism, and the cumulative experience in the world of non-capitalist development, including unsuccessful, is essential. It must be established what tenets of the concept of socialist orientation have really withstood the test of time, and which were engendered by a voluntaristic approach or dogmatic thinking. It remains to be elucidated what should be preserved as the conquest of Marxist-Leninist thought, as the result of interpreting the experience of the socialist-oriented countries, and what must be rejected as not corresponding to a scientific understanding of the general laws of social processes. But a comparison of positions, viewpoints, opinions etc. is required for this, i.e. debates that makes it possible to establish the truth are needed.

M.S. Gorbachev noted at one time that "We are learning how to live under the conditions of expanding democracy and glasnost. This sometimes evokes doubts among some. Some ask: won't socialism collapse? But which socialism? If it is a dogmatic and bureaucratic one—then yes, it will. But creative socialism, a socialism founded on genuine Leninist ideas, an order in which the deciding word belongs to the person of labor—it will not collapse, but rather develop."<sup>1</sup>

I think that this approach could become the key in devising our attitude toward the problem of socialist orientation. We should reject as soon as possible dogmatic, voluntaristic and often even utopian notions of the non-capitalist development of the backward countries on the path to socialism; a scientific approach to this problem, on the contrary, should be reinforced and developed.

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The debates on the problems of socialist orientation testify that the majority of Soviet social scholars proceed from the necessity of a profound re-interpretation of our

conceptions of socialist orientation. This conclusion follows from the features and presentations at academic conferences of such scholars as R.M. Avakov, Yu.G. Aleksandrov, V.F. Vasilyev, Yu.N. Gavrilov, V.I. Maksimenko, G.I. Mirskiy, N.A. Simoniya, V.G. Khoros and V.L. Sheynis among others. The views of the researchers cited are of course far from identical; on the contrary, they approach various aspects of this problem in different ways. At the same time almost all of them proceed from the fact that the concept of socialist orientation is in need of a cardinal renewal, that the practice of revolutionary-democratic countries has not justified the expectations that were placed on this path of development for the liberated countries at the beginning of the 1960s or even later. Certain scholars feel that the attempts to realize the methods of converting backward countries onto the track of socialist development that were proposed by Soviet social scientists in the 1960s and 1970s ended in complete failure. Others consider the viewpoint according to which socialist orientation (movement along the non-capitalist path) is an alternative to capitalist development to have been erroneous from the beginning, noting that the Marxian law of formation-stage development is ignored therein. This alternative in fact can only be the socialist path. The majority of the aforementioned scholars emphasize in one way or another that the Marxist-Leninist tenet relative to the preconditions for non-capitalist development as a path of transition to socialism has been perverted in recent decades, that a number of ideas expressed by the classical authors of scientific socialism on this score have been interpreted incorrectly. Scholars note that the significance of the external factor has been exaggerated, and that a scientific substantiation for the mechanisms of non-capitalist development at the level of the basis and superstructure are lacking. What they have in mind in particular is the fact that an economically weak and extremely backward former colony that is entering the world capitalist economic system and does not receive sufficient material assistance from the socialist states cannot fail to develop in the direction of capitalism. There is also no objective causality whatsoever for an evolution of the ideo-political positions of petty-bourgeois democracy in the direction of scientific socialism. The more so under conditions where the leading country of world socialism is not itself an example of efficient economic management, is experiencing serious difficulties in providing items of primary necessity for its own population, has one of the lowest standards of living for developed countries and does not dispose of sufficient material resources to render effective aid to the Third World countries for their rapid surmounting of backwardness. Our traditional prescriptions for overcoming economic backwardness by the developing countries—nationalization of the ownership of the means of production, a focus on the development of the state sector of the economy, cooperation according to the model of Soviet kolkhozes etc.—have moreover not justified the hopes placed on them.

Some scholars, Yu.G. Aleksandrov and V.I. Maksimenko in particular, have tried to explain the widespread dissemination of illusions regarding the prospects for socialist orientation. They feel that the principal cause is rooted in an incorrect depiction of the specific features of the development of capitalism in the Third World, in erroneous assertions of its lack of prospects and the historical bankruptcy as supposedly born too late. These assertions in turn flowed from the theory, dominant in Soviet social science, that world capitalism has entered the dying stage today, that its evolution is already proceeding on a downward line.

The actual state of affairs meanwhile testifies to the fact that capitalism has not only not exhausted its development possibilities, but is even obtaining new impetus from contemporary scientific and technical revolution, itself facilitating scientific and technical progress therein.

The simplistic, if not primitive, views of socialism that have held sway for a long time in Soviet social science have in my opinion fostered exaggerated notions of the possibilities of socialist orientation. According to Marx and Engels, socialism grows out of highly developed capitalism and is, as it were, the pinnacle of world social progress. But we have actually gradually come to understand socialism here as any society, regardless of the level of its socio-economic or cultural development, wherein the means of production are in the hands of the state, an order which outwardly looks like the antipode of capitalism. Questions of to whom political power can actually belong in very backward countries and who in fact owns the means of production are skirted herein. It goes without saying, as it were, that the workers dispose of power and the means of production.

The evaluations of Soviet Oriental scholars of the historical prospects of socialist orientation are not high overall. Some very guarded opinions were expressed, for example, in the theoretical and informational journal of communist and workers' parties, *PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA*, in the article "The Lessons of Socialist Orientation. Survey of a Debate at the International Symposium in Prague."<sup>2</sup> A representative of the Syrian Communist Party, H. Hammami, spoke of the limited nature of the anti-capitalist potential of the ideology of revolutionary democrats; A. at-Tayeb (Communist Party of the Sudan) stressed that the objective and subjective factors for the building of socialism have not yet matured in the developing world; K. Magdi (Communist Party of Egypt) pointed out the exaggerated significance that prevailed at one time of the transformations that were implemented by Egyptian revolutionary democrats headed by G. Nasser; N. Ashhab (Palestinian Communist Party) concluded that "too-optimistic evaluations of these phenomena (progressive transformations—A.K.) and superficial judgments of the real situation have been in circulation in the communist movement, while the force of influence of socialism from without has been exaggerated and the significance of subjective factors



and internal elements of the evolution of society diminished. It was felt that the radical measures of the ruling regimes were practically revealing the immanent possibility of subsequent transition onto the socialist path."<sup>3</sup> It must be acknowledged that such depictions of the non-capitalist path of development and its prospects were largely nourished by concepts that were formulated in the works of Soviet scholars, and especially in the articles and books of B.N. Ponomarev, R.A. Ulyanovskiy and V.G. Solodovnikov, among others.

Even now some social scholars, and especially specialists on Africa, maintain their adherence to these concepts, holding to the opinion that everything stands more or less favorably with both the concept itself and the practice of socialist orientation. They acknowledge both the necessity of improving the concept and the difficulties in the development of the socialist-oriented countries, but they feel that forward movement on a new development path is always accompanied by difficulties, while political practice requires corrections of theory. Nothing more. They do not, in other words, see the necessity of a radical reconsideration of the theory and practice of socialist orientation.<sup>4</sup> The position of this group of social scientists overall is guilty of poor provability and is distinguished by pretentiousness. A simple comparison of the development of neighboring countries with similar conditions on the capitalist and non-capitalist paths (Burma and Thailand, for example, or Tanzania and Kenya or Guinea and the Ivory Coast) over a comparatively long time period says that something "doesn't click" in the model of socialist orientation itself.

There are also scholars, however, who do not admit a critical view of socialist orientation on principle. A.S. Kaufman and R.A. Ulyanovskiy published the article "On the Question of the Socialist Orientation of the Liberated Countries"<sup>5</sup> in the journal *AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA*. The authors do not conceal their negative attitude toward any attempts to reconsider old dogmas and outmoded ideas relative to the social processes transpiring in the developing countries. In affirmation of their position they refer to official documents that were adopted at one time. Socialist orientation, they declare, is so important in a political regard that a critical view of it is simply inadmissible. "The critics of the course of socialist orientation for some reason feel it is possible to ignore the program documents of the world communist movement and the CPSU on this issue."<sup>6</sup> It is even awkward to remind our respected professors that we live in a time of restructuring and that if many of the provisions adopted by the party during the years of stagnation remained in effect, then it is not only rank-and-file active advocates of restructuring, but even its founders in the person of our current leadership, who would be branded revisionists and dissidents, perhaps even worse.

The aforementioned article of A.S. Kaufman and R.A. Ulyanovskiy cites the names of some scholars, including

the author of this article, but instead of reasoned criticism and the proven refutation of the conclusions of their opponents, they hurl accusations at them of the willful diminishment of the role of socialist orientation. They do not even make an attempt to approach realistically either the evaluation of the concept of socialist orientation itself or the state of affairs in the Afro-Asian countries that have declared their socialist choice. R.A. Ulyanovskiy, for example, is convinced that the concept of socialist orientation is theoretically and politically correct, and that the process of transition of the backward countries to socialism is transpiring normally as well. If there are problems, then they consist only of the fact that G.I. Mirskiy, V.L. Sheynis, A.V. Kiva and other "liquidators" of socialist orientation suffer from impatience and do not understand that the process of the transition of backward countries to socialism is long and difficult.

One of the arguments in the debate with those who are seeking to consider and evaluate the situation of the socialist-oriented countries realistically is this: criticism of socialist orientation is inadmissible, they say, since it disorients the forces of national and social liberation, and could either intentionally or unintentionally have an effect on the course of the struggle to choose an alternative development path to capitalism. How can this be answered? Socialist orientation is an objective reality that has existed for several decades, and no one can "close" or "open" it in the manner of a Shchedrin hero. Another way of putting the issue, it seems, is legitimate here: to close or not to close our eyes to what is happening in reality. We have ignored the real facts for a long time, and that has brought nothing good. At the same time, in subjecting the phenomenon of socialist orientation to all-round scientific analysis, we are deepening our depiction of it and better understanding its essence, scope and prospects. We can draw more correct political conclusions and provide scientific substantiation for these or those aspects of the foreign policy of the Soviet state on the basis of more complete knowledge. The gap between science and political practice in the recent past has sometimes cost our people dearly. We can moreover assist the socialist-oriented countries and the fighters for social progress in the Third World only when we ourselves know well the general laws of the development of backward countries toward socialism.

But serious problems arise here. On the one hand, the leaders of the socialist-oriented states today, perhaps as never before, are in need of aid in the cause of theoretical substantiation for various aspects of the development of their countries. And on the other hand, we have not yet investigated everything as we should.

Our notions of the sequence and directions of socio-economic transformations in the countries that have announced their socialist choice, the role of the state sector, production cooperatives, the priorities of the development of various spheres of the national economy, and first and foremost industry and agriculture,



have essentially not been confirmed by life. This has happened because there existed an uncritical approach to the Soviet experience of socialist transformations, although the discussion concerned countries with differing historical, socio-economic and specific national conditions.

Most difficult tasks connected with the conversion of the economy onto the track of intensive development are being resolved in our country today using such levers as economic accountability, self-support, self-financing, the widespread utilization of money-exchange relations, various forms of cooperation, individual trade activity etc. Much remains unclear here. It is obvious only that the administrative-command and bureaucratic model of economic operation that took shape at one time should be replaced by a new one based on scientific principles and taking into account the general laws of the development of socialism as the first phase of communism. Can we give our recommendations today regarding the basic directions of transformations on the non-capitalist path? It seems to me that we do not yet have sufficient knowledge for that, we do not yet have an integral idea of the essence of the phenomenon.

It is necessary to study deeply how the transitional period to socialism transpired in our country and to establish whether there was a real alternative to Stalinist methods for building socialism. The path of transformations that was favored by N.I. Bukharin and his advocates, for instance.

But even if such a model is effectively ruled out for our country—taking many factors into account, including the extreme conditions that the Soviet Union was in due to the capitalist encirclement—how acceptable is it for other countries? Research work in this area has actually only just begun.

It is important to uncover the role and place of economic and extra-economic methods of economic operation, the plan and the market, the correlation of economics and politics and the specific features of the interaction of the basis and the superstructure at each stage of development of the socialist-oriented state with a regard for its specific national conditions and its place in the system of the world division of labor and in the international arena overall. We justly consider our experience in restructuring in the economic sphere as going beyond the bounds of our country in its significance. But it is not ruled out that our economic policy today, aimed at strengthening the independence of enterprises, a certain decentralization of operational economic activity, the stimulation of market mechanisms and money-exchange relations etc. will not meet the needs of these or those socialist-oriented countries and cannot be borrowed by them without detriment to the cause. The policy of military communism, after all, was just as natural for post-revolutionary Russia at a certain stage as the NEP was. It helped save many people from starvation and brought triumph in civil war. For the economies of Angola and

Mozambique, which have come to total disorder, for the most acute situation that these countries are experiencing in connection with civil war and the intervention of racist South Africa, extraordinary measures are possibly most likely needed for a certain limited time—the methods of military communism, or NEP, or perhaps a combination of elements of the one and the other. But extraordinary measures are suitable for extraordinary conditions: when people must be saved from hunger or the consequences of drought, they cannot be absolutized and seen as a path for the reconstruction of society.

One can hardly offer the actual construction of socialism in the former outlying regions of our country to the socialist-oriented countries as a model. Showiness and the perversion of real processes stand as an impenetrable wall on the path of studying this experience. Its value is in principle relative, by the way, since the construction of socialism in outlying regions was done in a forced manner and often not using socialist methods (forced labor, including millions of innocently convicted people). It is paradoxical but true that Stalin declared socialism to be constructed simultaneously on all the territory of the country—both in the relatively developed centers and in the outlying regions, the people of which could not overcome their centuries-old backwardness, and were unable to do so over 10-15 years. This unsystematic acceleration was reflected in the large-scale negative phenomena that occurred during the years of stagnation in a number of Soviet national republics.

Without getting into our own history, both our own successful solutions to the tasks of the transitional stage and the errors, we obviously do not have the right to give any recommendations whatsoever on the score of socialist orientation to others. The work of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference shed light on many complex issues in the development of our society. Its materials must still be interpreted. It is necessary to analyze seriously the question of how the transitional period to socialism transpires in other socialist countries, first and foremost, of course, in the Asian states with low levels of socio-economic and cultural development. But a lack of summarized and scientifically proven analysis of the experience of socialist transformations is keenly felt here. Possibly with the exception of Mongolia, although there are still no few "blank spots" in its study as well.

We are essentially reaping the fruits of the practice that has taken root in recent decades of mindlessly reproducing evaluations of this or that phenomenon or this or that stage of economic and social development or these or those measures that are given in the official documents of those countries and the speeches of their leaders (supposedly in the name of what we are accusing our fraternal parties and countries of). No scientific analysis whatsoever stands behind this analysis, essentially none of our own points of view are expressed therein: we just repeat others' evaluations and judgments, including knowingly incorrect and erroneous ones. Who needs

that? It is not enough that, in reporting major achievements that did not in fact happen and could not be, we confuse the Soviet reader. We are impeding rather than helping fraternal parties and countries in getting over mistakes and surmounting subjectivism and leftist extremism in economic operation and methods of transformation. And it is namely the leftist deviations that have inflicted enormous harm on the development of individual socialist countries and have even discredited socialism to a certain extent.

No few works of Soviet scholars have been released—and moreover quite recently—on the socialist countries of Asia that contain only positive evaluations, even though all of world literature is full of reports on the incredibly difficult situation that, for instance, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was in in the 1980s, or the difficulties of the social development of North Korea. (We note herein that the books of Soviet authors, as a rule, are translated into the languages of the fraternal countries and widely disseminated in them, thereby reinforcing the positions of those who are to blame for the erroneous decisions.) Isn't it instructive that the 6th CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Congress (December 1986), refuting as it were what was written in many works of Soviet scholars, candidly depicted the true situation in the country, pointed out the error of a number of the decisions of prior congresses and the prior policy of forced industrialization overall, the wager on the rapid creation of heavy industry, the construction of major enterprises to the detriment of the development of agriculture, light industry and the construction of medium and small enterprises, to the detriment of the more successful resolution of the problems of the employment of the population and providing it with food and to the detriment of the standard of living of the workers. The documents of the 6th CPV Congress state directly that the problems of the transitional period to socialism have not been developed to a sufficient extent in Marxist-Leninist literature and that it was a serious error to rely on some unified and "standard" model of socialism. Our model in reality was formulated according to the scenario of Stalin on the basis of a rejection of the Leninist policy of NEP that had been conceived "in earnest and for a long time." It is namely the borrowing of this model that has led to the fact that the development of productive forces in many countries has encountered enormous difficulties and the boundary between social progress and repression has proven to be an unfixed and shaky one.

But another question also arises: does the administrative-command model for the transitional period to socialism form in the backward countries under the influence of Soviet experience or is following that model determined directly by the backwardness of a society that has chosen the path of building socialism? Are administrative-command methods, in other words, just one possible model for building socialism, or is the application of these methods an inevitable historical stage of the development of socialism for backward

countries? It seems to me that this is one possible variation of socialism, and this viewpoint, as far as can be judged, is adhered to by many researchers.<sup>7</sup> But an answer is also needed to the question of why a similar (administrative-command) model forms in other backward countries. Is the influence of our model explained by the fact that the problems of social progress must be solved by the backward countries under conditions similar to Soviet historical ones? Or is it the result of the one and the other: the fact that Soviet experience is considered to be the standard, and the fact that the conditions for the building of a new society are similar?

Based on the experience of a number of countries, we see that the bureaucratic model of socialism already has a tendency in many cases toward transformation into socially repressive ones. Crisis phenomena gradually increase in society, and it effectively enters a dead end. The Cultural Revolution in China, as well as the phenomena of stagnation in our country, are exactly the fruit of the bureaucratic model of socialism, not free of the feature of social repression from the beginning. But can the restructuring of this model based on the principles of a Leninist understanding of socialism be completely accomplished? That is the question. The deformations, after all, affect the sphere of mass consciousness.

Only the PRC has as yet demonstrated the real possibility of getting out of the social dead end. The battle for revolutionary restructuring in our country is still just unfolding, and mighty social drags that are difficult to handle on the path to a profound renewal of society by means of "revolution from above" alone and the hand of that same bureaucracy still exist, and are even manifesting themselves to an increasing extent. A tendency to compromise with the forces of drag, and especially with the bureaucracy, is evident. This is, on the one hand, obviously inevitable in the process of a profound and revolutionary restructuring of society, but on the other hand, compromises with the bureaucracy are restraining the pace of restructuring and impeding the profound social renewal of society. The real threat of a recoil continues to remain under these conditions. In China, as is well known, the reforms had palpable results as soon as a few years after they started, which cannot be said of our restructuring. I assume that the success of the reforms in China has been facilitated by such factors as a weakening of the positions of the bureaucracy and the preservation of the peasantry as such, not having lost their taste for the heavy labor of a plow of the land. It is possible that economic reform is being brought to life more consistently.

The aforementioned has a direct relation to the problem of socialist orientation. Objective preconditions unfortunately exist in the Third World countries for the affirmation of a model of the "barracks communism" type. We will not forget that Pol Pot and those around him called themselves communists, and they could be ruling the country today had not the Vietnamese volunteers come to the aid of opposition forces. The regime in

Guinea under Seku Ture, when the richest country in Africa was literally destroyed and chronic malnourishment became the lot of millions, was also akin to "barracks communism."

Today it seems legitimate to pose the question differently than we did before: will this path lead to socialism or not? To what socialism? To a socialism founded on genuine rule of the people and social justice, one that Marx, Engels and Lenin dreamed about, one that many outstanding revolutionaries and simple people on the earth dreamed of and are dreaming of, or a bureaucratic, "barracks" socialism?

Mass violence against people, including their criminalization, alienation from the means of production and removal from real influence on the making of political decisions, is inevitable under a socialist model of a Stalinist type. And this inevitably engenders social apathy and indifference. Bureaucratic and centralized economic activity has as its result an economy of shortages, which in turn leads to the appearance of a "shadow economy." And from there it is a direct path to mass corruption and the growth of organized crime. That is not a model of socialism that could be recommended to the liberated countries.

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We have had more than one debate here on the problems of socialist orientation, but unfortunately they have little facilitated a serious advance toward understanding the essence and prospects of this social phenomenon, since they were conducted according to a set pattern and no other result could be expected from them. Everything was essentially predetermined by "founding" documents that could only be commented on. And it nonetheless seems that the current debate has raised our understanding of paths of social progress in the Third World and the place of socialist orientation in it to a qualitatively new level. On what is this idea based?

1. The question of the necessity of genuinely scientific substantiation of the place of world capitalism and world socialism in worldwide progress has been posed on a practical plane. Up to now we have frequently preferred to pass off what we want for what actually is. Are we in the process of replacing one social order with another on a worldwide scale, as was earlier asserted? Or are there as yet no grounds for this assertion, insofar as socialism has still not proven its advantages over capitalism in the sphere of material production, its efficiency, its ability to create a society of abundance, it has not even been able to achieve a genuine humanization of social relations? If we acknowledge that capitalism is still on the ascent in its principal world centers, it is developing along an ascending line, while world socialism, possessing relatively limited economic capabilities, has encountered enormous difficulties and unsurmounted contradictions

between productive forces and productive relations, then socialist-oriented development can only occupy an extremely modest place in social evolution for Third World countries.

2. The question of the necessity of considering in unified fashion the problems of the development of socialist countries and socialist-oriented countries has been raised. We cannot close our eyes any longer to the fact that the building of socialism, at least in some backward countries, is not quite proceeding according to Marx, as it were. We see in a number of cases the powerful influence of petty-bourgeois and feudal socialism. It is difficult to give a scientific definition of the social phenomenon at the foundation of which lie general laws discovered by Marx, but not those alone. This concerns North Korea in particular, which has entered onto the path of building socialism under conditions of the division of the country into North and South, as well as, by the way, a European country—Albania—which is for certain reasons isolated from the other socialist states.

In correctly evaluating both the enormous successes and achievements and the colossal difficulties and misfortunes that have fallen to the lot of peoples in the course of building socialism in a number of countries, including our own, and understanding their essence well, it will be easier to foresee and, possibly, to avert to a certain extent a repetition of the negative and sometimes tragic phenomena that have, candidly speaking, cast a shadow on the shining image of a society, the path to the creation of which was laid by the creative and heroic deeds of the classical authors of scientific communism. We must now, after all, discuss surmounting the consequences of the discrediting of socialist orientation and the socialist path of development.

The following major problems that arise in the course of building socialism in backward countries could be indicated at least in preliminary and very laconic form. How can the undermining of the foundations of socialist democracy, the arising of a personality cult of the chief leader, violations of legality, abuses of power and repression against the revolutionaries themselves be averted? How can the monopolization of social and economic life be avoided when the initiative and creative activeness of the masses is blocked, when a bureaucratic hierarchy and a stifling uniformity of social life are established, when the economy, crushed by bureaucratic centralism, begins to operate not so much in the interests of the workers as for the plan, for the "gross," for itself? How can a destructive egalitarianism to favor an incorrectly interpreted social justice be avoided, how can healthy competition, without which stagnation cannot be avoided, not be smothered? How can such a political mechanism be created in the first steps along the new path that would rule out the lifetime possession of jobs, especially in the upper echelons? How can the "creeping in" of old social ties into the new social relations taking shape be avoided over a comparatively short historical time period while creating the material and technical base of

socialism, how can the appearance of the dangerous symbiosis of Marxist-Leninist ideas, new morals and morality and old forms of ideology and old moral postulates not be overlooked in the course of implementing cultural revolution?

In speaking of the problems of socialist orientation—both the concept and political practices—it is incorrect to abstract from that how the process of building socialism proceeded in other backward countries and what results that brought to their peoples. All of this is ultimately in the channel of the theory of socialist revolution. Yesterday's tragedy of a socialist country can become tomorrow's tragedy of a socialist-oriented country.

3. The process of overcoming the dogmatic treatment of the issue of socialism has begun. What is socialism? In whose hands is political power in reality and who in fact has ownership of the means of production, which in socialist countries (as in many states with a socialist orientation) has been declared to be the people? If the power and ownership are in the hands of a bureaucracy, the question arises of the necessity of replacing the bureaucratic model of socialism with a model that corresponds to the Leninist understanding of that order. The issue is that the construction of a new society in backward countries should rule out the creation of a bureaucratic model of socialism. But is any other model possible under the conditions of extremely backward countries? This problem is in need of profound and comprehensive study. The question is ultimately reduced to the following: isn't the cost, in the sense of human victims and human tragedies for the construction of socialism in a backward country, too high, and is the society that is built more historically progressive than capitalism?

4. The role of the external factor in socialist-oriented development has come to be evaluated more realistically. The pretentiousness that prevailed earlier is giving way to a sober approach based on a regard for the material and technical capabilities of the world socialist system overall. Greater attention is also being devoted to the internal preconditions of non-capitalist development. It was earlier felt that a liberated state, even the most backward one, was able to get onto the track of socialist orientation at any level of development. Today the sensible idea is breaking through that the success of socialist-oriented development can be ensured just with an especially favorable combination of internal and external factors. This reinforces the conclusion of those researchers, including the author of this article, that the transition of backward countries to socialism as the result of straightening out the curve of formational development and bypassing the capitalist stage of it, i.e. violating the laws of natural historical progress, can only be an exception, and in no way the rule.

5. The pretentiousness and attempts to pass off what was wanted for what was, along with, of course, all sorts of prohibitions that ruled in Soviet social sciences during

the years of stagnation hindered a scientific approach to uncovering the mechanisms of non-capitalist development in the sphere of the basis and the superstructure. The debates showed that many of those factors that were earlier considered as furthering non-capitalist development actually facilitated capitalist evolution. An inefficient state sector in the economy, on the one hand, engenders and reinforces the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and serves private entrepreneurship on favorable terms, while on the other hand, the principles of collective economic operation are discredited and more and more new funds are required to cover the losses of enterprises in those sectors. The funds are borrowed, as a rule, in capitalist money markets, which just strengthens the dependence of the liberated countries on world capitalism. In just the same way, sweeping attempts to incorporate the principles of collectivism in the agrarian sector lead to disorder in the prevailing operational economic system and strengthen food shortages and, at the same time, dependence on deliveries of foodstuffs from Western countries.

It is difficult to find general laws in accordance with which, as was asserted before, extremely backward and poor countries, including those in the world capitalist economic system, can develop successfully in the direction of socialism without decisive economic assistance from the socialist countries in the situation that exists today both in the world overall and in the Third World in particular. There are no grounds to feel that petty-bourgeois democrats themselves will evolve in the direction of Marxism-Leninism.

All of this taken together gives grounds to feel—the author of this article expressed this point of view at an academic conference at the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences—that Soviet social science still has no scientifically substantiated concept of socialist-oriented development. As is well known, of the socialist-oriented countries that have been theoretically called the first-generation countries in Soviet literature (that took the new path as early as in the 1960s and adhere to “national socialism” as an official ideology) and the second-generation socialist-oriented countries (that proclaimed such an orientation in the 1970s and have declared their adherence to scientific socialism), we have placed the greatest hopes on the latter. Why? First and foremost because they have proclaimed Marxism-Leninism as their ideology, are creating vanguard parties armed with that teaching etc. But can we really ignore the fact that all of these actions are frequently premature and isolate the progressive regimes from the masses, create powerful opposition to them and call the socialist choice into question?

I emphasize in conclusion that socialist orientation is a reality in the sense that countries that have taken that path really do exist, even though they are experiencing enormous difficulties in the course of their advance and the historical preconditions for their selection are still not conclusively clear. It would be an unforgivable

delusion, however, to ascribe to socialist orientation as a definite historical phenomenon capabilities that it does not possess, and to place on it hopes that it cannot justify.

*From the editors—The general laws of the transition from capitalism to socialism and the associated question of the possibility of non-capitalist development and socialist-oriented policies is one of the most important in the theory of historical materialism.*

*Taking this into account, the editors have opened the new rubric "Socialist Orientation: Reality and Theory," under which will be published both articles with general theoretical content and those with the specific development experience of individual socialist-oriented countries. The editors in particular invite readers to express themselves on the issues touched on in the article by A.V. Kiva.*

#### Footnotes

1. PRAVDA, 30 Mar 88.
2. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA. 1988, No 6.
3. Ibid., pp 49-50.
4. This viewpoint predominated in the presentations of a number of social scientists at the aforementioned academic conferences. See also: "Chronicle Notes. Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences."—NARODY AZII I AFRIKI. 1988, No 5, pp 170-172.
5. See: AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA. 1988, No 5.
6. Ibid., p 20.
7. See, for example: L. Gordon, E. Klopov, "The Thirties and Forties."—ZNANIYE—SILA. 1988, No 2. COPY-RIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki", Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1988

#### Roundtable: Modern Capitalism and the Developing World (Conclusion)

18070186f Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 88 pp 68-89

[Roundtable discussion: "Contemporary Capitalism and the Developing World: The Nature and Prospects of Mutual Relations\*"]

[Text] *E.Ye. Obminskiy: Today's neo-colonial exploitation of the developing countries is conditioned not so much by the fact that world capitalism cannot manage without it as it is by the fact that the current level of development of capitalism in the Third World is not high. Democratic transformations in the developing countries themselves and the growing social responsibility of the capitalist class in the countries of the West for the purpose of self-preservation can lead to a shift of focus in relations*

*between the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries from neo-colonial exploitation to the achievement of profit norms that gravitate toward moderate ones.*

It seems that in the contemporary world, typified by a much more profound understanding of such categories as "expenses," "expenditures" etc., a sharper clash than at any time before is occurring between individual and social interests. The assimilation of any resources of the planet, which as recently as yesterday promised obvious advantages to its initiators, is today transformed into unrecoverable and catastrophic losses. The scope and nature of the means and tools of labor employed to assimilate and exploit resources are such that ignoring or even simply underestimating the diverse consequences accompanying "direct profit" elicit an almost immediate reciprocal reaction, be it poisoning and disease as the result of the mass utilization of chemical fertilizers or the dessication and deforesting of enormous regions as a consequence of "intelligent" local decisions. The state of affairs on the planet today is such that any social order should prove its ability to combine economic and scientific and technical progress with survival and a quality of life worthy of man. Only the consistent democratization of society, the only thing able to counter the egotistical interests of individual segments and classes of it, can serve as a guarantor of success. And if we acknowledge today that the survival and further development of our social order—socialism—depends on this today, then there are no grounds to suppose that they are not thinking about analogous problems "on the other side of the barricades."

It seems that the interests of the aggregate class of capitalists and individual representatives of it were until a certain time identical in their "primitivism": the level of understanding of "gain" and "losses" was roughly the same, and the principle of "profit at any price" was widely employed.

If it can be expressed in such a manner, an "expense" method of extracting profits ruled, wherein expenditures were naturally at the expense of society while profit was individually "centralized." One consequence of the "expense" method was the unrestrained plundering of land resources and world wars. Scientific and technical revolution, which raised the stakes in the "game" of the interacting forces in an unforeseen manner, mobilized the intellect of society for a more profound awareness of its genuine interests. The capitalist overall did not remain off to the side either. The struggle of the workers and others segments of society for a limitation of exploitation, as well as the intrinsically difficult and painful experience the capitalist class acquired in the course of crises and trade and economic wars, required a strengthening of the social responsibility of business. Centripetal and integrative processes aimed at devising mutually acceptable "rules of the game," along with the internal legislation of the developed capitalist countries, testify to this.

The question arises of whether capitalism is able to employ them not only within the framework of their own developed sphere, but also on the periphery—in the developing countries.

As is well known, in the process of the circulation of capital, its self-augmentation occurs at the production stage of expanded reproduction: surplus value is contained in the new value that is created, the mass and level of which depends first and foremost on the degree of exploitation of hired labor. Such is the intrinsic foundation of the self-augmentation of capital that is characteristic of it within the framework of the whole world capitalist economy.

The "external" conditions of the production of surplus value are so varied at the same time that it makes it possible to speak of a higher degree of exploitation of workers and whole countries in various zones of capitalism.

The primitively understood interest of the capitalists of the developed countries apropos of the Third World has proven to be more conservative and less subject to change than the center of the world capitalist economy. Without getting into details, it is enough to refer to the crises of the 1970s and 1980s, which had an especially painful effect on the developing countries, and the gigantic indebtedness and instability of their economic growth. But changes are also inevitable here: the processes of strengthening the struggle within the developing countries themselves for the primacy of social interest are underway, and an understanding by the developed countries of the lack of promise of pumping out "super-profits" from the poorest and neediest countries is growing at the same time. This in no way means that the egotistical interests of individual capitalists and groupings of them will not exist in the future as well. But the counter-productiveness of such acts for the whole class of capitalists is becoming more and more obvious against a background of strengthening social, political and economic reactions.

Today's neo-colonial exploitation of the developing countries, it seems, is conditioned not so much by the fact that capitalism cannot manage without it as it is by the current level of development of capitalism in the Third World. The developing countries, with a few exceptions, cannot join the world capitalist market with its competitive climate other than by compensating for low labor productivity with cheaper raw materials and cheaper manpower. The "lowest and worst" forms of exploitation will disappear to the extent of growth in labor productivity and the realization of the tendency toward a rise in profit norms in the developing countries, and forms and methods of exploitation typical of the capitalist mode of production in general will predominate.

It seems that such an approach corresponds entirely to Marxist methodology.

The Marxian universal formulation of expanded reproduction of capital gives a summary picture of the turnaround of capital in the monetary, productive and commodity forms characteristic of it within the framework of the whole capitalist mode of production. The "order of things" under capitalism is essentially presented in this "ideal" scheme, triggered automatically and making it possible to consider capitalism as a specific mode of production. It is therefore essential to establish first and foremost namely what is chief and primary for the fate of capitalism and what is secondary, without which it can get by.

The main thing for the "survival" of capitalism is the process of appropriating surplus value, ensuring the continuation of the capitalist mode of production. The self-augmentation of capital occurs, as is well known, in the production stage: here is where surplus value is created, the mass and levels of which depend on the degree of exploitation of the hired labor. As K. Marx said, "the turnover of industrial capital—regardless of whether it appears as monetary capital or as commodity capital—intersects with the turnover of goods produced under the most diverse modes of social production, since these modes are commodity production."<sup>1</sup> These mutual "intersections," the juxtapositions of goods in the national and world markets, strictly speaking also show the level of socially necessary costs of production that are achieved through far from identical efforts. The backward producer and participant in exchange, in order to "stretch" to a progressive and competitively comparable product, has to expend quantitatively greater work time at the production stages than his more efficient competitor. He has to pay with time for backwardness, in turn subject to payment. Such a "payment" can also exist within individual countries, where businessmen in more progressive sectors gain compared to owners in a backward sector. But in this case the final result is not altered, and the capitalist class in the given country remains "within itself." When the developing countries pay for backwardness, these funds become the profits of the bourgeoisie of other countries—the industrially developed ones. In noting this feature, Marx wrote that "Losses and gains are equalized within a single country. Matters are not the same in the mutual relations among different countries... The law of value here undergoes a marked modification... In this case the richer country exploits the poorer one even when the latter gains from the exchange..."<sup>2</sup>

It is this dynamic process of exploitation, on the one hand, and the accumulation of "gains from exchange," on the other, that comprise the inner foundation of the traditional struggle between the exploiters of the developed countries and the exploited developing countries. The egoism and free-for-all nature of the exploiting groups has led to the fact that exploitation has "eaten up" the legitimate portion of the gain from exchange as well, not allowing those gains to move from quantity to quality and creating, along with a political one, an

economic basis for liberation from neo-colonial exploitation. It seems, however, that the democratic transformations in the developing countries themselves and the growth in social responsibility of the capitalist class for the purpose of self-preservation could lead to a shift in the focus in relations between the developed and the developing countries with neo-colonial exploitation to the achievement of profit norms that gravitate toward moderate ones.

*A.S. Solonitskiy (USSR Academy of Sciences IMEMO [Institute of World Economics and International Relations]): The enormous economic, scientific and technical rift between the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries is hindering an expansion of multinational capital, i.e. is a drag on development and contradicts the long-term interests of contemporary capitalism. The dependence of the position of the developing countries in the world economy chiefly on general economic laws does not rule out the possibility of political solutions at the level of the world community for the purpose of improving this position. The prospects for the development of mutually advantageous relations between the center and the periphery of the world capitalist economy are connected with further socio-economic transformations in the developing countries themselves.*

An analysis of the mutual relations of contemporary capitalism and the developing countries seems most fruitful within the framework of an understanding of the world capitalist economy as an integral system in which national economies, i.e. country entities as the subjects of the relations, interact on the basis of the international division of labor and economic and political ties. They are arranged in a long chain with several groups of links according to their economic potential and level of social development. The degree of intensiveness of their participation in this system also differs, and is based on raw-materials (agrarian raw materials) or industrial specialization.

The world capitalist economic system at the same time consists of a multitude of sectors that co-exist and interact within national boundaries, but simultaneously in the overall economic expanse of the non-socialist world as well. Various heterogeneous elements can be seen both in the developed capitalist countries and in the developing ones. Typical of the latter is the presence of contemporary and traditional institutions, as well as "free industrial zones" with special conditions for economic ties within the country and outside its boundaries. Countries are in other words represented in world interchange both as active participants (sectors) that constitute a subsector of immediate production cooperation, and as passive participants that experience the effects of both their own national and foreign sectors.

The evolution of the interconnections among all the parts of the world capitalist economic system corresponds to the process of development of productive forces and productive relations that transpired there.

stimulated by the growth and internationalization of material production. The multinational corporations (MNCs) and multinational banks (MNBs) operating in accordance with the general laws of the self-realization of world capital, which strives for free movement on a global scale and is aimed at modernizing production conditions, are the main organizers of these interconnections.

The Third World remains a specific sphere of activity of world capital. Its various sectors are attractive to differing extents to multinational capital. One obvious general law of the development of the world capitalist economy, however, is the assimilation of the developing countries as a market for the sale of goods, technology and technical knowledge. The involvement of external financial resources therein is a necessity for the majority, while toleration of direct participation of the MNCs and MNBs in their economies is an absolute for all the developing countries. It is namely the direct investments of the MNCs that create a most important channel for including these countries in world economic ties. The complex tasks of developing the credit and finance sphere are effectively inevitably resolved with the aid of the MNBs. The interconnections of the Third World with foreign capital in various forms of contract relations expand at the same time. The task of reducing the debt burden of the developing countries tends to alter the correlation between various types of expansion of multinational capital chiefly in favor of direct investments. The movement of capital out of the most developed countries of the Third World becomes an important element of the development of the world capitalist economy.

In light of the aforementioned, it can evidently be asserted that contemporary capitalism systematically assimilates non-capitalist sectors as well, although the capitalist transformation of some of them is still in the initial stages, in the process of its intra-formational development, today represented in the form of expanded reproduction within the framework of the world capitalist economy. This description of the current stage of the development of capitalism does not negate the theory of Marx on the fundamental possibility of the self-augmentation of capital on its own foundation. But it does at the same time essentially close the issue of the possibility of imperialism rejecting the exploitation of the developing countries, since capitalist relations without exploitation do not occur. As for the question of the exploitation of the developing countries as some special source of life-giving resources for the main capitalist states, science has not as yet developed a methodology for measuring the scale or intensiveness of this source. There are no grounds to say that the income obtained by those states in the Third World comprises a material item of capital accumulation for them.

The interconnections of the center and the periphery of the world capitalist economy naturally preserve a significant specific nature chiefly through the enormous economic, scientific and technical supremacy of the leading



capitalist states over the principal body of Third World countries. It is exceedingly typical, however, that this gap is hindering the expansion of multinational capital, i.e. is a drag on the process of development of contemporary capitalism. This sort of inner contradiction of the development of the world capitalist economy has worsened in the 1980s. The sharp rise in the withdrawal of financial resources from the developing countries by the main capitalist states on the basis of the indebtedness of the former is evident. The extraordinary situation of the net balance of payments of the Third World, however, is worsening the conditions of activity of the MNCs there, narrowing the export opportunities of the creditor states and contradicting the long-term interests of contemporary capitalism. This situation has taken shape in a climate of profound economic crisis of the development of the world capitalist economy, where the purchasing power of the developing countries has dropped sharply and credit terms have been tightened. It has been conditioned at the same time to a considerable extent by the low utilization efficiency of borrowed funds by the developing countries, which has an especially painful effect during a period of a marked re-orientation of those countries namely toward external financing for development to the detriment of real investments. A new influx of resources into the Third World is the norm for the development of the world capitalist economy.

The use in academic circulation of such a figurative term as "neo-colonialism" seems impermissible to describe the mode itself of drawing the developing countries into the world capitalist economy and ensuring favorable conditions for the functioning of international capital, striving to subordinate the developing economy to the interests of its own reproduction, stimulating those directions and forms of international production specialization that meet the needs of the centers of capitalism at a given moment. It is namely the general economic laws of the replacement of types of international specialization of the developing countries as the periphery of the world capitalist economy that feed the image of colonialism under contemporary conditions, i.e. give grounds to speak of economic dominion and subordination. This in no way signifies that the centers of capitalism control all of the development processes of the liberated countries or are closing off opportunities to strengthen their economic independence.

The dependence of the position of the developing countries in the world economy chiefly on general economic laws does not rule out the possibility of political solutions at the level of the world community for the purpose of improving their position. The growth in trust between the socialist and capitalist states on the basis of the political treaties of the USSR and the United States are fundamentally easing stepping up their joint efforts for devising such solutions. The expediency of developing a collective platform of the developing countries on issues of restructuring international economic relations is also preserved. The presence of this platform, naturally along with the progressive efforts of its individual participants,

has allowed the developing countries to advance along the path of reinforcing their national sovereignty in the economic realm and achieving the institution in practice of a series of new forms of mutually advantageous production cooperation with the capitalist states. An evaluation of the not very successful incarnation of the new world economic order (NWE) in light of the current world economic situation, however, makes it obvious that the prospects for the development of mutually advantageous relations between the center and the periphery of the world capitalist economy are connected with further socio-economic transformations in the developing countries themselves, since the deep foundation of the asymmetry of the mutual dependence of these countries with the capitalist world consists namely of their social backwardness. A positive influence on the economies of the developing countries on the part of the developed capitalist states is entirely possible, and moreover the stabilization of the economic situation of the world capitalist economy and the overall prospects for the expansion of world economic relations, as well as the possibility of devising coordinated solutions at the level of the world community, depend to no small extent on this partnership.

*M.A. Cheshkov (USSR Academy of Sciences IMEMO): The "center—periphery" relations in the world capitalist system, which can be presented today in the form of the interaction of differing and unequal aggregates of capital, are sooner unequal relations than exploitation. The conclusion that the Third World, remaining a part of the world capitalist system, is less and less the specific object of specific exploitation, however, seems a hasty one, since this is counteracted by factors engendered by world scientific and technical revolution. At the same time, the question of the essence of new forms of exploitation of the developing countries suited to scientific and technical revolution remains an open one. But it is also true that as the result of the diversity of trends in contemporary development, the process of deepening inequalities and the exploitation of the Third World is not now of the nature of a strictly deterministic and "ironclad" law. It is more likely a probabilistic and limited process undoubtedly subject to the influence of various distributive and redistributive mechanisms within the framework of the world community, and not just world capitalism.*

The postulation of the question of the necessity of a non-capitalist environment for contemporary capitalism requires elaboration. The distinction of the capitalist mode of production from prior ones consists not of the fact that it does not need a heterogeneous environment, but rather, first of all, that it can reproduce itself outside of any environment (as opposed, say, to slaveholding) and, second, that it itself forms the environment depending on its intrinsic level of maturity and according to its own laws. Another elaboration: when the discussion concerns the environment, we are dealing not with the concept of "capital in general," but with a more concrete category of it—"world capital"—typified by a worldwide capitalist expanse, or the existence of world capitalism as a world relation. It is namely here, at this—



evidently "middle"—theoretical stage, and not at the highest ("capital in general") that the problem of the environment should be posed.

When the world existence of capital is founded primarily on market ties (the world market) and thereby relies on the sphere of circulation, when it is based on a world social division of labor of the "industry—agriculture" type, world capital creates a modified pre-capitalist environment. When world capital is based directly on the production sphere to the extent of the emergence of MNCs, the development of scientific and technical revolution and the industrialization of the developing countries, on a world division of labor of the "science—industry" type, world capital forms a capitalist environment.

The first question may thus be answered thus: the nature of the worldwide form of capital determines the structure of the environment or the structure of that which is its internal environment or periphery. The nature of the relations between the center and the periphery are altered accordingly within the limits of the world capitalist expanse or within the limits of the world system of capitalism.

Does the formation of such an environment by contemporary world capital signify that the world capitalist expanse is becoming homogeneous, that a trend toward homogenization and not heterogenization of its worldwide dimensions is characteristic of contemporary capitalism?

The discussion should sooner concern a growing **homogeneity** (capital) and differences **within** this quality. In this perspective, the "center—periphery" relations in the world capitalist system, presented as the interaction of differing and unequal aggregates of capital, are sooner relations of inequality than exploitation—this is a form of inequality conditioned by the relation to the means of production. Can we forecast on this basis that the Third World, remaining part of the world capitalist system, will be less and less the specific object of specific exploitation?

This conclusion seems hasty, since the effects of world scientific and technical revolution, in the course of which the Third World occupies a dependent position conditioned by the difficulties of creating autonomous and scientifically sophisticated technologies there, are not taken into account. The "center—periphery" ties will by virtue of these difficulties be mediated by the relation to the most modern means of production as before, and this means that they will retain their class-antagonistic and exploitative nature. It is true that the nature of relations of this type in the context of scientific and technical revolution, the more so the outward aspect of it, are still far from clear. The question of the essence of new forms of exploitation of the Third World suited to scientific and technical revolution thus remains an open one. A supposition of weakening exploitation in this

situation looks no stronger than a supposition of a replacement of the forms of exploitation directly connected with changes in the world social division of labor, of this productive force—in the future—for the Third World (and for the world capitalist system overall as well). One thing is clear: new types of inequalities, especially in the sphere of spiritual production, arise in connection with the new type of world social division of labor in "center—periphery" relations, which is expressed in the alienation of national and cultural identity (the conflict of cultures, the incursion of mass cultures) and various attributes of the entity in the Third World (its needs and interests).

Also true is the fact that with the course of industrialization and the expansion of the domestic market, integration, the adoption of joint strategies and, of course, the aid of the world community (the UN) and world socialism, the process of deepening inequalities and the exploitation of the Third World is not now of the nature of a strictly deterministic and "ironclad" law. It is more likely a probabilistic, limited and undoubtedly modifiable process subject to influence on the part of the various distributive and redistributive mechanisms that are intrinsically called upon to create a world community.<sup>3</sup>

Elements of exploitative and unequal relations, both old and new, with the leading role of new types of exploitation (inequalities), are articulated in the structure of relations between the center and the periphery of the world capitalist system overall. The evolution of this aggregate of relations as a probabilistic process differs from, say, the emergence of relations of oppression—exploitation of a colonial type. This picture<sup>4</sup> does not sparkle with innovation, but it seems useful in that it makes it possible, first of all, to elaborate the essence of neo-colonial exploitation, which looks more like a term than a concept with definite substance<sup>5</sup>; second, not to mix—in a neo-Proudhonist spirit—inequality and exploitation; third, to remove the opposition of the concepts of "exploitation" and "development" both in the liberal spirit ("not exploitation, but development") and in the leftist-radical sense ("not development, but exploitation"); fourth, to shift the study of "center—periphery" relations from quantitative parameters (calculations having basically symbolic significance and propaganda purposes) to qualitative ones (the balance of trade and the convertibility of inequalities and exploitation).

An explanation of the nature and character of center-peripheral relations in the world capitalist expanse comes up against the understanding of a few more general theoretical and methodological problems. One of them is the specific nature of contemporary capitalism in general and its worldwide form in particular, especially in the hypostasis of this form as addressed toward the developing countries (the discussion concerns in particular the correlation—at all three of these levels—of monopoly (including state-monopoly) and "classical"

(competitive) forms of capital and capital and commodity production). An understanding of these correlations has become problematical to the extent that traits of the re-animation of classical (pre-monopoly) capitalism in general and its commodity foundations in particular appear in the course of scientific and technical revolution, especially in its second wave, and the emergence on that basis of a new world social division of labor.

Does this phenomenon signify the **resurrection** of "classical" capitalism in a new and this time really worldwide edition of it, or are we dealing with cyclical (albeit "large") fluctuations that do not undermine the nature of state-monopoly capitalism? The world capitalist expanse and the nature of both its center-peripheral relations and their "consequences" for the community of developing countries look different depending on the solution to this problem (a new edition of "classical" capitalism or a cycle in the dynamics of state-monopoly capitalism).

Another problem is the fact that processes of communication, internationalization and globalization are giving rise to an interconnected world in which no component of it, even capital with its intrinsic lack of boundaries, is self-sufficient anymore. The theoretical re-interpretation of each constituent element is accordingly also not self-sufficient, but is rather conditioned and mediated by the interpretation of their inclusion in the planetary community, which modifies and corrects the relations of the community of developing countries with the world capitalist system and with the world system of socialism.

*I. G. Rastyannikov (USSR Academy of Sciences IV [Oriental Studies Institute]): Paramount attention in answering these questions should be devoted to a comprehensive analysis of the effects of scientific and technical revolution on the course of world development. Scientific and technical revolution constitutes and consolidates a qualitatively new foundation for the neo-colonial exploitation of the developing countries under the conditions of capitalism.*

Can imperialism reject the neo-colonial exploitation of the developing countries? In my opinion, in researching the circumstances surrounding an answer to this question, paramount attention should be devoted to a comprehensive analysis of the effects of scientific and technical revolution on the course of world development. The point is not just that scientific and technical revolution is communicating more and more powerful impetuses to the inequalities of the development of both parts of the world capitalist economy, but also the fact—and in this case the main one—that it constitutes and consolidates a qualitatively new foundation for neo-colonial exploitation under the conditions of capitalism.

First of all, a deepening of the rift between the countries of the center and the periphery of the world capitalist economy in the realm of the development and assimilation of scientific and technical potential, which is also

recorded in quantitative indicators—the share of spending on NIOKR [scientific-research and experimental-design work]—can be ascertained. The discussion can naturally concern only the relative backwardness of the Third World, since its actual link with scientific and technical progress, which is gaining pace, is accelerating, which has made it possible for a significant group of the developing countries in particular to provide for a greater economy of time and funds in resolving strategic tasks in some of the main directions of economic growth. A number of developing countries disposing of the most developed scientific and technical potential are even breaking into the lead in certain areas of scientific and technical progress. Brazil, based on the application of the latest technologies, has been transformed into the leading producer of commercial ethanol (over 70 percent of the total production volume in the non-socialist world), while India is the largest breeder of agricultural vegetation in the Third World, making active use of aerospace methods of agricultural monitoring. South Korea and Brazil have taken leading positions among the developing countries in the assimilation of commercial electronics.

All of these successes (when they exist) are more and more illuminating a most acute problem: how organically and deeply is scientific and technical progress entering the fabric of the economic structure of the developing countries? I am close to the position of Yu. S. Shiryayev, who has substantiated the conclusion that in our times "scientific and technical revolution is growing into scientific-production revolution, which is qualitatively transforming not only individual sectors but the economy overall. We can speak of such a revolution when qualitative changes in science are incarnated in engineering solutions, incorporated into practice and begin to play a decisive role in the development of all of social production."<sup>6</sup> And the transforming function of this revolution still encompasses namely the countries at the center of the world capitalist economy. The difficulties of the developing world caused by its relative backwardness are conditioned, aside from everything else, by the great sluggishness of their economies. And this sluggishness is manifested all the more strongly, the more significant the place occupied by traditional modes of production (and the quasi-capitalism that grows on that ground), with the social relations and forms of consciousness characteristic of them, in the multi-institutional system of the economy of this or that country. The contradiction that arises takes on a dynamic nature. It is manifested in the form of an increasing lack of correspondence between the growing capabilities for accelerating development that are revealed by world scientific and technical progress, on the one hand, and the excessive sluggishness of the national economy that is a drag on its ability to materialize all of the more and more complex achievements of that progress in the production process, on the other. This sluggishness makes a special contribution to the fact that scientific and technical progress, even in the most developed countries of the Third World, takes place at a "broken

rhythm" distinguished by great fragmentation of the wave of technological transformations and a disjointedness of individual sectors of it. The sluggishness factor (more precisely, the aggregate of conditions that cause it) will meanwhile move more and more to the forefront in the future as a most acute problem of development. A number of researchers (N.A. Karagodin and N.A. Markov, for example) have already noted that in relation to the majority of the developing countries (and in the near future, I would add, effectively in relation to the entire Third World—ten countries being exceptions), the new spiral of scientific and technical revolution will strengthen their dependence on deliveries of technology from the developed capitalist states. I would like to say a few words in this regard about some of the changes that are transpiring in the functional domestic mechanism of the capital that is exploiting the developing countries, making use of its increasing technological separation.

The "second wave" of scientific and technical revolution is bringing the development processes of monopoly capital, and first and foremost multinational capital, to qualitatively new limits. The strengthening competition demands more and more significant and innovative investments by businessmen striving for the fastest possible assimilation of scientific discoveries, burdensome even for the largest monopolies. Large capital can withstand this burden and receive high profits therein only by strengthening its monopoly, which under conditions of harsh competition proves to be the only means of consolidating the price of newly created product at a level that makes it possible to recoup all spending on innovation. It is namely monopoly, in other words, that becomes (for capital) a factor of economic compensation for risk in the production of new product.

But a counter-trend also takes shape: the price competition is aggravated by non-price competition. This second form of competition is extremely noteworthy. The contemporary achievements of science as cumulative knowledge with widely developed capabilities for technological materialization create a base for the emergence of "parallel" systems for the social division of labor on a social scale (at both the intra- and inter-sector levels of mass production); these systems are realized in the appearance of heterogeneous (in their technological genesis) goods that satisfy one and the same social need. Both types of competition combined, reducing the temporal and spatial framework of the actions of monopolies, are a catalyst for a trend not simply toward the emergence of the production of new types of goods, but also to its continuous and rapid technological renewal.

As testified to by a great deal of material, competition that receives strengthened impetuses from the "second wave" of scientific and technical progress leads in earnest to new processes of monopolization by large cartell-type associations encompassing homogeneous sector elements belonging to different MNCs, associations, each of which tends to act as a universal (within the bounds of the world capitalist economy) monopoly extending its

absolute power to the production and sale of goods of a given type. Such associations, usually arising as temporary and flexible unions and not having, as a rule, any institutionally formulated structures, are sometimes called "oligopolies," a "third type" of company. Oligopolies that formed as intra-sector associations (Yu.B. Kochevrin) in the 1960s are becoming an international phenomenon.

The emergence of the oligopoly is the initial stage of a new phase in the development of monopoly capital, the stage of the maturation of new forms of international monopolies. It is namely such a super-monopoly that allows its monopolistic participants to obtain a temporary breather, slowing the race in the innovative sphere of activity for a time and preserving the dimensions of the profits acquired at their former dimensions therein. Such giants are already beginning to subordinate new blocs of the economy of the less economically developed part of the world to themselves.

Although I close on a pessimistic note, I am convinced that the situation is not hopeless. Its acuity alone (and it will inevitably grow stronger with the passage of time) tells us again and again of the imperative necessity of making real the model of the new world economic order, within the framework of which a priority position should be devoted to the creation of mechanisms regulating the whole spectrum of relations between the developing world and the MNCs as an aggregate international force.

*G.V. Smirnov (USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute): Although economic ties between stronger and weaker partners under the conditions of contemporary capitalism always tend to be unequal, the collective interests of imperialism and other factors dictate the compromise nature of economic relations between the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries. A lack of equivalence moreover does not necessarily signify a lack of economic expediency or advantage for the developing countries in international exchange.*

Economic relations between imperialist states and their MNCs and the Third World, described as neo-colonial, are a consequence of the economic backwardness of the latter and reflect overall the general nature of contemporary capitalism, under the conditions of which economic relations between stronger and weaker partners always tend to be of an unequal nature. It is essential in analyzing these relations, however, to take into account a minimum of four real conditions that define the concrete substance of economic neo-colonialism in their interconnection.

First, the obtaining of profits is far from always the immediate motive for the development of economic relations of the centers of the world capitalist economy and its periphery. Many forms of these ties prosecute more general aims—the collective interests of imperialism, such as keeping the developing countries in the world capitalist economic system, influencing the paths

and directions of socio-economic development of those countries, averting social conflicts in the developing countries that are undesirable from this point of view etc.

Second, it is not only the MNCs and the national monopolies that are the agents of economic relations of the centers of imperialism with the countries of the developing world, but also the non-monopoly capital of the Western countries, as well as their state organizations. And the goals of all these participants far from coincide. The granting of official development assistance, for example, sooner fulfills political functions for the donor countries and is not connected with the condition of the immediate receipt of profits for the capital invested. But economic relations with the developing countries often serve as a means not so much of obtaining profits (they can be minimal) as a way of surviving in the fight against MNCs for Western firms of a non-monopoly nature.

Third, competition among imperialists at the international level and at the level of the MNCs also has an effect on the economic relations of the West and the developing countries.

Fourth, economic neo-colonialism forms as the result of both the objective need of the developing countries themselves for economic relations with the West, and of the vested interest of the developed capitalist countries in those economic relations.

The combination of all these conditions and the fight of the developing countries to improve their positions in the international capitalist division of labor impart a compromise nature to the economic relations between the Western and developing countries. The Lome agreements that envisage certain benefits for the developing countries taking part in them on the part of the EEC countries can serve as an example of such a compromise.

We will consider how, for example, the movement of capital between the West and the developing countries of Africa took shape under these conditions.

In the 1970s and 1980s the export of profits from Africa for direct private capital investment considerably exceeded the influx of new direct capital investment. The net balance in favor of the MNCs and other foreign investors of productive capital was valued at 1-2 percent of the GNPs of the African countries in the 1970s and 0.6-1.5 percent in 1980-83 (an average of about 3.5 percent of the gross capital investments of the African countries over those years). If we take into account all of the movement of long-term credit between the imperialist states (including the MNCs and international financial institutions) and the developing countries of Africa, however, then in my opinion and based on UN statistical data an overall net influx of long-term financial resources from the countries of the West to Africa (with a regard for the payment of interest on

borrowed capital and profits from direct investments) roughly equal to 2.5 percent of the GNPs (or 10-11 percent of gross capital investments) of these countries was observed in 1970-83.<sup>7</sup>

It is much more difficult to answer the question of whether the exchange of goods and services between the West and the developing countries leads in all cases to the plundering of the latter and the transfusion of national income created in the developing countries to the developed countries. I think that it would be a mistake to try and give an affirmative answer to this question without serious analysis and based only on the theory of non-equivalent exchange.

We can speak of non-equivalent exchange in the contemporary world chiefly in the sense that Marx gave the term, showing that the less developed countries usually supply their output to the world capitalist market at prices that do not correspond to individual (national) expenditures of the quantity of labor on production in those countries. Non-equivalence does not necessarily signify the economic inexpediency and disadvantage of international exchange for the developing countries. Such situations arise only in the event that the international division of labor does not provide for growth in national income in the developing countries, but rather on the contrary leads to declines in it through pumping it out to the developed capitalist countries.

These tenets can be elaborated using the example of the utilization of immigrant manpower from the developing countries in the West. Algerians working in France or emigres from other African countries that come in search of work to Italy, England or West Germany are subject to harsh exploitation in those countries and receive considerably less for their labor than European workers. Their earnings are at the same time higher than those employed in the same work in the African countries themselves (not to mention the impossibility of obtaining work in their own homelands). The transfers of emigres provide a number of African countries with a material portion of their total foreign-currency income and facilitate an increase in national income.

The period when the exchange of goods was accompanied by an influx of national income from the Western nations rather than an outflow for certain developing countries can be determined quite confidently. The discussion concerns the countries that were major exporters of petroleum during the 1974-80/81 period. A marked worsening of trade conditions with the West in the second half of the 1970s and especially in the 1980s was at the same time typical of the majority of the developing countries of Africa (and these conditions worsened by more than 20 percent for the sub-Saharan countries of Africa over 1978-86, which, in my evaluation, signified annual losses on the scale of 6-10 billion dollars for them compared to the trading conditions of the middle of the 1970s). It can be assumed that the trade

of this group of countries with the West during those years lead to an outflow of their national income, but it is very difficult to prove this statistically.

*Ye. V. Volskaya (USSR Academy of Sciences IMEMO): A precise evaluation of the effects of any trade and political measures on the development of world trade poses large and as yet insurmountable difficulties. This is also true relative to evaluating—notwithstanding the complex techniques of calculation—the hypothetical “losses” of the developing countries as the result of protectionism by Western countries. The assertion that protectionism by the developed capitalist countries is directed against industrial imports from the developing countries does not seem to correspond to reality.*

An analysis of changes in the trade policies of the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries is important for evaluating the prospects for the development of economic relations between both groups of countries.

One often reads that trade conditions are worsening for the developing countries due to the increasing protectionism of the developed capitalist countries, that the developing countries are encountering discrimination in world markets. The impression is being created that the West is waging an economic fight against the Third World countries. Each of these positions is true, but only in relation to a specific and sometimes small group of developing countries and in specific situations.

The first is true today in relation to the exporters of raw materials, for whom the situation in the world market has become unfavorable once again. The situation of a rapidly growing group of developing countries—exporters of finished industrial items—is quite different, however. If we are speaking of trade conditions in a narrow sense, i.e. the statistical indicators of the trade conditions<sup>8</sup> of those countries, then a decline in them signifies the influence of a multitude of factors and can also reflect positive phenomena in their foreign trade: the diversification of exports thanks to the preferential growth of product lines of comparatively inexpensive items in exports and, on the contrary, a narrowing of product lines of imported items with an increasing share of relatively expensive equipment. The likelihood of this is confirmed in particular by the fact that lists of the goods exported by the developing countries have on average doubled over the last decade and a half, and at the beginning of the 1980s the most developed Third World industrial exporters had reached the level of the developed capitalist countries in the degree of their diversification.

During this period trade conditions were also broadly favorable for the developing countries, otherwise these countries obviously would not have been able to increase the degree of their penetration into Western markets: the share of Third World countries in industrial imports to the developed capitalist countries nearly tripled and now

exceeds 12 percent.<sup>9</sup> The export of traditional and comparatively simple and labor-intensive items—clothing, footwear, toys, travel and sporting goods and the like—is increasing rapidly, and more technologically sophisticated and capital-intensive items in new fields are already being imported from the most developed of these countries.

It must be said that success in Western markets has been distributed very unsystematically among the developing countries. About 60 percent of the items come to the world market from a narrow circle of Asian countries and territories—Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore—and almost 30 percent comes from another fifteen countries in Asia and Latin America.<sup>10</sup> Thanks to the exports of the roughly ten most developed developing countries, cars and transport equipment now comprise over a third of the value of industrial imports of the developed capitalist countries from the developing countries, wherein so-called “stable technology”—equipment for such sectors as food, footwear, paper, textiles and metallurgy—is also imported from some countries.<sup>11</sup>

It is namely these most developed industrial exporters of the Third World that are troubled by the obstacles to the still more active penetration of their items into the markets of other countries. And they have meanwhile, like other developing countries, enjoyed preferences of various types and conditions for the marketing of their items in the markets of Western countries that are considerably better than those that have been granted to the socialist countries and, in a number of instances, even exporters from other developed capitalist countries since the beginning of the 1970s.

They are guaranteed duty-free imports within the limits of set quotas, and imports at reduced tariffs above the quotas. This does not, however, relate to those of the developing countries that have been transformed into relatively major exporters and have already moved beyond the bounds of the quotas. The countries of the EEC along with the United States have recently begun to abrogate the privileges in the imports of certain items from the largest industrial exporters among the developing countries. The position that tariff protectionism is increasing is thus correct only as concerns those countries that are forced to compete “on a common footing.”

It is, however, as is well known, not tariffs but rather licensing, subsidies, embargos, tightened technical and health standards and other means of indirect protectionism that are being employed more and more widely by the countries of the West to create more serious obstacles to the import of items that compete with items produced nationally. According to the evaluations of UNCTAD specialists, some 28.9 percent of the industrial imports of the developed capitalist countries from the developing ones were encompassed by various non-tariff measures along with 14.4 percent of imports from the developed capitalist countries and 34.2 percent of such imports from socialist countries.<sup>12</sup> It can be supposed that the

less developed industrial exporters suffer from certain restrictions of this sort, while the stronger ones suffer from others. A precise evaluation of the effects of any trade and political measures on the development of world trade poses great and as yet insurmountable difficulties. Such attempts are necessarily limited to the enumeration of various types of "barriers" and, sometimes, the gathering of information on the frequency of their employment by certain countries and reduced to almost intuitive data for the rest. The same could be said, despite the complex techniques for calculation, of the valuations of the hypothetical "losses" of the developing countries as the result of protectionism by the Western countries.

The application of the concept of discrimination, frequently used to describe the conditions that the developing countries encounter in world markets, also demands especial methodological caution. If we consider the consequences of all measures that give preference to national producers compared to any foreign ones to be discrimination, then this concept coincides with the concept of protectionism. The treatment of market discrimination as the intentional creation of worse selling conditions for certain foreign exporters than others seems more constructive. It becomes clear with such an approach that the most authentic examples of discrimination are restrictions of trade according to political motives. An embargo is the clearest example of such discrimination. The practices of discrimination also include not extending privileges enjoyed by the members of some organizations or associations to exporters from countries that are not member. The developing countries that are not participating in the Lome conventions, for example, are discriminated against in the markets of the countries in the European community compared to the participating members. But any other countries that have not signed those conventions are in a no less discriminated position compared to the latter.

The reduction of procurements of specific items "sensitive to imports" by the countries of the West from the most dynamic industrial exporters of the Third World countries is a typical example of discrimination, which countries are thereby discriminated against first and foremost compared to none other than less active exporters of analogous items. It is obvious that the discrimination in such cases is not against the developing countries as such, but rather as exporters that pose a threat to the balanced development of the importer's economy. The assertion that the protectionism of the developed capitalist countries is selectively directed against industrial imports from the developing countries thus does not seem to correspond to reality: the statistics testify to steady growth in industrial imports, including the products of the most protected sectors, from the developing countries to the developed capitalist countries. These procurements in the countries of South and Southeast Asia moreover rose against a background of reductions in the mutual trade of Western countries and fall in their imports from the socialist countries during the period of crisis.

*I.I. Sledzevskiy (USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute): Since the unequal and exploitative nature of the value proportions that take shape in the world capitalist market is inevitable, the movement of the surplus product of the less developed countries to the more developed ones is also inevitable. But can imperialism preserve the old mechanism of its dominion on the periphery of the world capitalist economy for long in an unlimited manner? The shifts that have occurred over the last 10-15 years testify to a clear crisis of neo-colonial exploitation and the structures that condition it. The chief crisis factor herein is a qualitative shift in the conditions of the internationalization of accumulation and the formation of a new value structure of the world market in connection with the new stage of scientific and technical revolution. This new mechanism will act simultaneously at strengthening the dependence of the developing countries and at destroying world economic structures that remain as the legacy of colonialism, undermining the global mechanism of neo-colonial exploitation. The political-economic substance of the category "economic security" consists of achieving such a level of regulation (in principle, collectivization) of international capital at which it, without losing its value foundation, private-ownership nature and national origins, proves to be a politically subordinate part of the relations of the world community for the purpose of the more stable development of international forms of the division and cooperation of labor.*

It is not difficult to delineate the point of departure for analysis: it is not an abstract formulation of expanded capitalist reproduction (speaking just of the most general condition of the reproduction of capitalist productive relations), but the real processes of capitalist accumulation that determine the development of the world capitalist market and the world capitalist economy—the internationalization and monopolization of capital. The internationalization of accumulation is transforming the world market and the world economy into constituent elements of the structure of capital itself, facilitating a convergence of the movements of capital and surplus value and introducing an element of "usual" capitalist exploitation into world economic relations. The process of monopolization, as opposed to this, makes capital a constituent element of international (among states and among nations) relations, expands the independence of the international movement of capital in relation to the movement of surplus value and strengthens the element of monopolistic exploitation in international economic relations.

It is more difficult to resolve the issue of how both of these processes manifest themselves in the structure of the world market and in the correlation of value and non-value levers in the mechanism for exploiting the developing countries. The predominant treatment of neo-colonial exploitation as the result of differences among nations in the levels of labor productivity (equivalent exchange) and the manipulation of prices on the part of the monopolies (non-equivalent exchange) does not impart the requisite clarity to this problem. Value

relations in the world capitalist economy, on the one hand, are treated as if the conditions of an ideal capitalist market were operative in the world market and that violations of equivalence (based on the equivalence of social value) exist only in the form of deviations from the value basis of prices. Price formation in international capitalist trade, on the other hand, is interpreted in such a way as if it has no real value basis and is determined by the voluntaristic policies of the Western monopolies.

This conflict seems unresolved if we analyze the value mechanism of the world market and its modifications exclusively at the level of abstraction of "Das Kapital," i.e. within the confines of the Marxian theory of surplus value without regard for the fact that the theory of value that was developed within the framework of it is a simplified ideal model of the real movements of values and prices.

One possible method of solving the problem is admitting a direct link between the violation of the principles of trade equivalence in the process of the development of the capitalist mode of production (especially within the framework of the world economy) and outward modifications (and not simply the elimination or limitation) of value relations themselves. In such a case the question comes up against the further development of the general theory of capitalism and, within the framework of it, the study of modifications of value at various levels of the movement of capital (which, by the way, corresponds more to the methodology of Marx himself). It must be acknowledged to start (in the tracks of a number of Soviet economists) that the equalization of labor in the **real** structure of value relations can be accomplished not only according to its ability, intensiveness and technical sophistication (social value), but also from the point of view of the degree of satisfaction of social needs (market value).<sup>13</sup> The relative independence of both criteria for equalizing labor becomes fixed when the possibility of free fluctuations in production in relation to social needs is undermined by a monopoly or a structural imbalance of the market (a situation typical of the world market). Such a factor as the purposeful regulation of supply and demand by monopolies accordingly begins to play a special role in the formation of value proportions where such regulation has an effective influence on the degree of satisfaction of social needs. The export of capital and the creation of international cartels that artificially maintain a shortage of products for its members even with sharp drops in the level of demand, patent monopolies and the overall mobility of contemporary international monopolies all create conditions for a corresponding shift in the structure of value. The rapid growth (beginning in the 1970s) of world prices compared to domestic ones testifies to the fact that the independent movement of the price mechanism is developing faster in the world market than in the domestic markets of the capitalist countries.

The exploitative element of world economic relations under such conditions is now not just the international transfer of part of the customary capitalist profits

(average and additional) and not just the equivalent of the internationalization of social value obtained in exchange with a less developed country and surpassing the national value of the goods exchanged. It is also the particular value excess in the form of the difference between the international social value and the high international market value acquired as the result of a monopoly on natural resources as a consequence of monopoly engendered by the high level of concentration of world production and trade. The fact that it allows the owners to acquire part of the value that was created in other sectors and countries and exceeds the normal level of withdrawals on the basis of social value and the price of production, i.e. essentially in the form of rent—differential or monopolistic—within the framework of value relations **without an equivalent**, is a specific feature of this excess that distinguishes it from "normal" capitalist profit.

Does the inevitability of the neo-colonial exploitation of the developing countries arise from this? The unequal and exploitative nature of value proportions that take shape in the world capitalist market is inevitable. These proportions are opposed not only to the principle of "fair" trade exchange (the program for a new world economic order looks utopian in this area), but also the principle of the formal equality of the goods producers, i.e. in equivalent social value. (The theory of exchange at international social values essentially ignores this tendency.) The movement of the surplus product of a less developed country to a more developed one is accordingly inevitable as well, wherein the scale of direct exploitation (the appropriation of others' labor without an equivalent) increases sharply due to the rise in non-equivalence in the system of value relations itself.

But this is true only in principle—as an abstraction of the concrete structure of social labor that is expressed by the mechanism of value, and of the system of world economic relations in which this mechanism acts in forms that are different from itself and transformed (at the world economic level the moment of the transformation of value relations is becoming especially steady and diverse). It seems that the issue of the bounds of neo-colonial exploitation is more correctly resolved at this level of abstraction, "lower" than the theory of the world capitalist economy (only if we do not understand neo-colonial exploitation as the expression of the inequality of the various parts of the world capitalist system in general and do not substitute a general abstraction of dependence for the real relations among them). In such a case this will now be an issue of whether imperialism can preserve the extant mechanism of its dominion at the periphery of the world capitalist economy for an unlimited time—in the sphere of production, obtaining the raw materials and power resources it will still need first and foremost at the expense of the backward periphery, i.e. conserving the diversity of world labor and the world economic expanse; in the sphere of productive relations, preserving the monopoly of the chief industrial resources and raw materials of the capitalist world, as well as the



enclave nature of the development of capitalism on the periphery; in the realm of international relations, upholding and thrusting onto the developing countries those conditions of reproduction that would correspond principally to the interests of the imperialist countries.

With all the connection of such a type of economic inequality with the dominion of the monopolies, it itself and its principal elements correspond to that phase of imperialism where the globalization of the capitalist mode of production is limited to the spheres of international trade and the export of capital.

The shifts that have occurred over the last 10-15 years in the principal spheres of world society testify to the clear crisis of neo-colonial exploitation and the structures it brought about. In the sphere of production, it is the destruction of the production and technological foundations of the colonial division of labor in connection with the conversion of the developed capitalist countries to a resource-conserving type of reproduction and the decline in the significance of the developing countries as the principal source of raw materials. In the sphere of productive relations, it is the sweeping nationalization of the export and raw-materials sphere of the Third World countries in the 1970s and the weakening of their role as a sphere for the investment of capital. In the sphere of international relations, it is the widespread development of extra-market (national, international) forms of redistribution of social value that have in general raised the significance of these relations in the structure of the world economy and strengthened the fragmentation of the economic expanse of the developing countries.

But the chief factor of crisis and its constant foundation is evidently the qualitative shift in the conditions of the internationalization of accumulation and the formation of a new value structure for the world market in connection with the new stage of scientific and technical revolution, promising a sharp increase in the share of labor of the developed capitalist countries in aggregate world labor and correspondingly the regulation of value proportions of the latter almost exclusively by the conditions of production of the countries that are advancing along the path of scientific and technical revolution, a continued and cardinal break with the structure of productive forces at the centers of capitalism and a considerable rise in the efficiency of capital accumulation in the zone of developed capitalism. It can be thought that this new mechanism will act simultaneously at strengthening the dependence of the developing countries and at destroying the world economic structures that remain as the legacy of colonialism, displacing stagnant and backward sectors of production from the world economy and undermining the global mechanism of neo-colonial exploitation. For many developing countries this signifies the threat of a displacement from the principal raw-materials and industrial markets and the especial difficulty of linking up with the new international division of labor.

The attempts of the developing countries to limit the effects of spontaneous forces in the world market via the establishment of monopolies on scarce raw materials and energy commodities and the expansion of preferential financing among nations can only have limited significance and, as the experience of the 1980s shows, ultimately just strengthens the destructive influence of the value mechanism. The debt crisis, the expansion of the MNCs and the "liberalization" of the system of international economic ties that followed in the 1980s are exploding national systems of state regulation.

The category of "international economic security," it seems, reflects such a state of the worldwide sphere of capitalism where the state and international regulation of the economic relations extant within it essentially proves to be impossible and the necessity of their worldwide and national regulation arises, i.e. a transition to a qualitatively new level of international integration of national economies. The political-economic substance of economic security, in my opinion, consists of achieving that level of regulation (in principle, collectivization) of international capital at which it, without losing its value foundation, private-ownership nature or national origins, proves to be a politically subordinate part of the relations of the world community for the purpose of the more stable development of international forms of the division and cooperation of labor.

The fight for a NWEQ is a political level for restructuring the world capitalist economy. The corresponding concepts are realistic to the extent that the transition to regulating international economic ties at the national level is possible in general, as well as how the tasks that they advance do not contradict the laws of the world capitalist market. The collectivization of capital in new and supra-national forms (stimulated by the opposite process of the formation of unified international finance capital) is a wholly realistic trend, although its realization is probably not unconditional and depends on the global situation—the level of political tensions in the world, the dimensions of the arms race, the development dynamics of the socialist countries, the preservation of the community of developing countries etc., and even its most consistent implementation will hardly be able to lead to the creation of an entirely equal international division of labor.

*B.I. Slavnyy (USSR Academy of Sciences IMRD [Institute of the International Workers' Movement]): Leftist-radical notions of the world economy as a super-powerful force standing above people and hostile to them, and thus deserving of complete destruction, are only rationalizing archaic conceptions of mass consciousness and making their contribution to the mythologization of reality. Therefore human reason, rather than being freed of the power of myths, turns to them again, and people are alienated from the outside world and experience mistrust, fear and hostility in relation to it. The modern era moreover demands of a person an openness to the world. Steps to regulate international economic relations are*



*ultimately leading to a decrease in the irregularities and inequalities that remain as the legacy of colonialism. But if we look to the more distant future, it is difficult to imagine the disappearance of inequality altogether. The development of production, circulation and consumption under the conditions of internationalization will on the contrary clearly lead to a new spiral of processes of differentiation. Only then will inequalities be defined not by differences in the level of endowment with natural and capital resources or the like, but rather by the diversity of the types of people and the specific features of the human factor.*

The debate on the problem of non-equivalent exchange—that inalienable attribute of the spiritual reality of the contemporary world—has continued for almost half a century now and is being conducted by scholars and politicians of differing ideological orientations. Two planes can be singled out in it: first, attempts to uncover an empirical foundation for the appearance of non-equivalent exchange and, second, to create a theoretical and mythological construct that is addressed to various audiences, to theoretical scholars and to the popular masses. The latter circumstance turns such theoretical activeness into an independent and important factor in the contemporary social situation.

The aforementioned empirical foundation is associated with the preservation of inequalities and gaps in the economic expanse encompassed by the system of world economic ties. This makes it possible for individual participants in international economic relations (as well as intermediaries) to extract rent income: losses are accordingly the lot of other participants. The developing countries, as a rule, are among the losers.

Irregularities are associated with the objective conditions of production (gaps in the levels of economic and technological development among countries and groups of countries participating in the international division of labor; differing degrees of dependence on the world market; country and regional differences under conditions of the expanded reproduction of labor and capital resources), with state policy—financial, defense and foreign economic policy—and with the socio-political conditions in individual countries (the inefficiency and corruption of state officials in the developing countries, outright theft from state coffers by dictators and the like).

Also becoming a factor in the increasing irregularities are measures aimed at raising the market competitiveness of one's own economy that are pursued by an individual country or group of countries (changes in currency exchange rates, anti-inflationary measures, a policy of foreign-trade protectionism), to which could also be added the rise in interest rates in the world financial markets that is associated with the aforementioned measures. All of this limits the export markets for the industrial goods of the developing countries, reduces the purchasing power of exports and facilitates a rise in the

level of servicing of foreign debt (first and foremost that portion of it that is comprised of loans obtained by the state from international financial institutions). Whence the weakness of the bargaining position of the developing countries when concluding contracts for obtaining credit, the conditions for the withdrawal of profits and the disposition of foreign production on their territory or the establishment of prices for export goods and the like.

The irregularity associated with the initial gap in the development conditions of the two groups of countries is gradually surmounted by increasing mutual dependence. The processes of specialization of individual countries within the framework of the international division of labor are currently leading to the fact that these countries, and even whole regions, are becoming parts of a whole, wherein this mutual complementing is determined not by the need for natural resources, but rather by the need for human labor at various levels of technological complexity. The formation of a so-called information society in the developed capitalist countries signifies that power-, materials- and labor-intensive types of production will be shifted to the developing world.

I will dwell on the theoretical methods of interpreting the world system and non-equivalent exchange. The world economy and the disadvantageous position of the developing countries in it have come to be subjected to theoretical analysis starting with the moment of liberation from colonial dependence. Scholars of liberal and conservative views (G. Myrdal, R. Prebisch) have tried to reveal the objective general laws of the functioning of this system regardless of the will and consciousness of people. An analysis of statistics brought these scholars to the conclusion that long-term trends do not point to the fact that one side (group of countries) will constantly gain at the expense of another.

Radical thought set about the analysis of laws governing the world system later, but as opposed to conservative and liberal thought, it did not devote any attention to researching rows of statistics. The very fact of the development crisis itself in the Third World and the economic prosperity of the developed capitalist countries, according to these theoreticians, shows with all obviousness who loses and who wins from foreign trade and where the inclusion of the developing countries in the international division of labor leads. The world system, according to that theory, is an arena of struggle of mighty impersonal forces whose nature is inaccessible not only to human intervention, but even understanding. This system thus cannot be corrected, it can only be destroyed along with the non-equivalent exchange that is a component of it.

Theory does not invent the notion of the world economy as a super-powerful force standing above people and hostile to them; this idea is present in mass consciousness. Theory just imparts to it a more refined and

rationalized form. Modern science thus makes its contribution to the mythologization of reality. I would regard this contribution as entirely negative. And not only because the conclusion itself of the desirability of a catastrophe in the world economy contradicts the new thinking ("a wager on the destruction of historically extant world economic ties is dangerous and provides no way out"<sup>14</sup>), but first and foremost because the mythologization of reality can bring the very process of development itself to a dead end.

The popular masses, becoming the main subject of historical processes in the developing countries, are discovering for themselves in theory not so much the world economy as they are the monster of their own collective consciousness. The human intellect, instead of being freed of the power of myths, thus turns to them again, and people are alienated from the outside world and experience mistrust, fear and hostility in relation to it. Theory, in other words, closes the mass community on itself, impelling it to seek answers to the questions that life and world development pose in their own historical past (where such answers knowingly do not exist) and pushing them toward impulsive actions of a particularly negative nature. The contemporary era moreover demands of a person an openness to the world that would permit him to change and thereby adapt to the rapidly changing laws of that world.

Steps to regulate international economic relations that are undertaken both by national governments and by international institutions ultimately lead to a decrease in the irregularities that have remained as the legacy of colonialism. But even if this sort of irregularity is conclusively ironed out, it is difficult to imagine the disappearance of irregularities altogether, i.e. the achievement of a complete homogeneity of the world economic expanse. On the contrary, development under the conditions of the internationalization of production, circulation and consumption will lead, it seems to me, to a new spiral of the processes of differentiation. Only this time the irregularities will not be defined by differences in the level of endowment of natural and capital resources, not by the inequality of climatic conditions and geographical situation of individual national economies. The diversity of types of people will become their cause. The multi-varied nature of the world to which the new thinking points is a consequence of this diversity; the discussion therein concerns not the initial preconditions of the process of development—cultural, civilizational, racial etc.—but rather the results of that development at each given moment in time and its successes or failures. That is, it will be possible in the future to speak of a new source of irregularities and, consequently, a new basis for non-equivalent exchange. Whereas the former basis of the irregularities was associated, as I have already noted, with the material-substance conditions of production and circulation and with institutions (national legislation, tax and monetary policy), their new foundations are the human factor.

Differences in the ability of people to work determined by national institutions, culture or way of life did not play a special role at the early stages of development of the international division of labor; they could, as D. Ricardo showed, be neglected. Later, international differences in the level of endowment with capital resources and various levels of mechanization of human labor moved to the forefront. The development process, as A. Hecksher, B. Olin and P. Samuelson have thought, should have eased these differences and thereby leveled the diversity of local conditions of production. Today it is not differences in external conditions in relation to the person and factors of development that are moving to the fore, but rather differences directly connected with the person himself as actualized in the development process itself within the framework of the world system. It is namely the differences in the way of life of people as determined by the specific features of socio-economic development—national, regional and the like—that are becoming an important factor in differentiating local conditions of production and local levels of the technological complexity of labor. In other words, it is a tendency toward strengthening local diversity, and not on the contrary a tendency to suppress it, that will be the dominant one.

The development process does not reveal some transcendental essence of the person that supposedly determines his affiliation to a local or national type; on the contrary, it allows him to make use of the chances that are opened up to all countries and peoples but are used in far from identical fashion. The laws of international competition are constantly revealing winners, but these victories alone, like the defeats of the others, are not conclusive: tomorrow the competitors can switch places. Whence the problem that is faced by any society. It consists of agreeing on these tests and accepting their possible results, possibly including new forms of non-equivalent exchange, but not seeking a way out in self-sufficiency or the rejection of competition.

#### From the Editors

In answering the questions offered by the editors, the participants in the discussion noted first and foremost the necessity of making certain corrections in such fixed concepts as "imperialism," "neo-colonialism" and "neo-colonial exploitation." V.L. Sheynis feels that equating the concepts of "imperialism" and "contemporary capitalism" is a tribute to stereotypes, and that "imperialism" as it was understood in Marxist literature at the beginning of the century is not a defining characteristic of capitalism at the end of the 20th century. N.A. Simoniya also pointed out the considerable transformation over recent decades of the five basic traits of imperialism as formulated by V.I. Lenin. The exploitation of other peoples is accordingly not a generic trait and system-forming element of contemporary capitalism (N.A. Simoniya), while the view that the foundations of the inequality of the developing countries and the developed capitalist countries are inherent in the very nature

of the productive relations of the capitalist mode of production on a world scale is unsupported (Yu.G. Aleksandrov). A rational postulation of the problem requires an acknowledgment that neo-colonial exploitation typifies that part of the self-augmentation of capital of the developing countries that is directly or indirectly mediated by their economic ties with the developed capitalist countries, and that the discussion herein concerns not withdrawing social product from the developing countries, but rather assisting the improvement of the general conditions for self-augmentation of capital at the centers of the world capitalist economy (A.Ye. Granovskiy). The use in academic circulation of such a **figurative** term as "neo-colonialism," in other words, seems permissible as a description of the process itself of drawing the developing countries into the world capitalist economy and providing favorable conditions for the functioning of international capital (A.S. Solonitskiy). It was noted at the same time that "neo-colonial exploitation" has been transformed in Soviet literature from a political-economic category into a swear-word and has come to be equated with "plundering," "dictate," "violence" and "non-equivalent exchange," and its substance has thereby been narrowed to non-equivalent willful-monopolistic methods (A.Ye. Granovskiy). "Neo-colonial exploitation," according to a different point of view, looks more like a term than a concept with definite substance: that is why it has not yet been possible to uncover theoretically the substance of the concepts "neo-colonialism," "neo-colonial productive relations" and "neo-colonial ownership" (M.A. Cheshkov). The core of neo-colonial exploitation, like capitalist exploitation in general, is moreover equivalent relations based on the laws of capitalist commodity production (A.Ye. Granovskiy). The developed subsystem of the world capitalist economy functions and evolves primarily through internal resources uncovered within it (V.L. Sheynis). As for the question of the exploitation of the developing countries as some particular source of life-giving resources for the main capitalist countries, science has not yet developed a methodology for measuring the scale or intensiveness of this source; there are thus no grounds to say that the income obtained by these states in the Third World comprises a material item of capital accumulation for them (A.S. Solonitskiy). Neo-colonial exploitation plays a knowingly secondary role in the process of capital accumulation in the developed capitalist countries (A.Ye. Granovskiy). There also does not exist herein a unified level of dependence of the expanded reproduction of the developed capitalist countries on the developing countries, insofar as the vested economic interest of the centers of capitalism in the periphery has changed materially over the course of history (a cyclical model is more likely being observed here). The vested interest of the Western countries in the developing world has thus declined appreciably in the second half of the 1970s and in the 1980s (G.K. Shirokov).

The participants in the discussion devoted substantial attention to the problem of so-called non-equivalent

exchange. The opinion that the postulation of this problem that has held sway in our literature in recent decades is incorrect and crudely distorts the real state of affairs could be considered unanimous. It was noted that exploitation could entirely co-exist and be combined with equivalent exchange (A.Ye. Granovskiy). The advocates of the concept of non-equivalent exchange are moreover unable to indicate a real mechanism for the redistribution of surplus value in the process of commodity exchange that would not violate the requirements of the law of value (Yu.G. Aleksandrov). A correlation of movements of world prices for raw materials and finished industrial items that is unfavorable for the developing countries is not a compulsory feature of non-equivalent exchange (Ye.S. Popov). International trade is accomplished on the basis of world and not national values (V.L. Sheynis) or, in other words, equivalence of exchange in international trade is based on the dimensions of socially essential labor defined according to the mean conditions of production, but not intra-country ones, rather worldwide ones (N.A. Simoniya). The viewpoint was also expressed that non-equivalence, even when it exists, does not necessarily signify the economic inexpediency and disadvantage of international exchange for the developing countries (G.V. Smirnov).

Monopolistic practices, direct dictate and violence play their role in neo-colonial exploitation, but the development trend of both the world system of capitalism and the whole world community operate in the direction of decreasing their relative shares and then gradually eliminating them. The participants in the discussion recall in this regard that neo-colonialism is not simply a continuation of colonialism, but its withering away (N.A. Simoniya). Conditions have already begun to take shape that are undermining the aspirations of imperialism for monopoly in international economic, political and cultural relations. A clear crisis of neo-colonial exploitation and the structures that condition it can thus be detected in recent decades (I.V. Sledzevskiy). Integrative processes are steadily increasing in the world, creating the preconditions for leveling the world economic expanse (Yu.G. Aleksandrov, N.A. Simoniya, Yu.V. Shirokov, B.I. Stalnyy, I.V. Sledzevskiy, Ye.S. Popov). The leveling process of the economic landscape of the world capitalist economy under the conditions of the interconnectedness of the contemporary world will develop at a faster and faster rate (Yu.V. Shishkov, B.I. Slavnyy). A turnaround toward a reduction in the multi-century trend of a profound rift between the center and the periphery of the world capitalist economy has ensued since the middle of the 20th century. The presence of a backward periphery of the world capitalist economy, instead of the good it seemed quite recently for the center, is becoming more and more of a burden for the center and the whole world community (Yu.V. Shishkov). The rift between the developing countries and the developed capitalist countries is in particular hindering an expansion of multinational capital, i.e. is a drag on the development of

contemporary capitalism (Ye.E. Obminskiy; G.K. Shirokov expressed a similar point of view). Capital on the periphery of the world capitalist economy has thus moved along the path of establishing more equal relations with the center of that system in the last decade and a half as the result of all this (Yu.G. Aleksandrov). The opinion was expressed that "center—periphery" relations in the world capitalist system can be represented today in the form of the interaction of differing and unequal aggregates of capital that act more in relations of inequality than exploitation (M.A. Cheshkov).

Capitalism is in principle able to reject the direct exploitation of other peoples if it becomes disadvantageous or even dangerous from the point of view of the fundamental interests of the world capitalist system (N.A. Simoniya). The democratic transformations in the developing countries and growth in social responsibility of business and the capitalist class overall, as conditioned by considerations of self-preservation, are working in this direction (E.Ye. Obminskiy). There are influential social groups and segments in the developed capitalist countries that have a vested interest in raising the level of development in the developing countries (V.L. Sheynis). The collective interests of imperialism in any case dictate the compromise nature of the economic relations between the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries (G.V. Smirnov).

A.Ye. Granovskiy and G.K. Shirokov express another viewpoint, not seeing any real reasons that would impel imperialism to reject the mechanisms and practices of neo-colonial exploitation (in its value-equivalent form). M.A. Cheshkov also warns that the conclusion that the Third World is less and less the specific object of exploitation seems to be a hasty one, since factors engendered by worldwide scientific and technical revolution are acting counter to this. V.G. Rastyannikov insists upon this, considering that scientific and technical revolution forms and reinforces a qualitatively new basis for neo-colonial exploitation of the developing countries under the conditions of capitalism. True, M.A. Cheshkov softens his position to a considerable extent, bringing it closer to the positions of the majority of the participants in the discussion, when he elaborates that as the result of diverse trends in contemporary development, the process of deepening inequalities and exploitation of the Third World is not of the nature of a deterministic and "ironclad" law—this process is more probabilistic, limited by, and doubtless subject to, the effects of various distributive and redistributive mechanisms within the framework of the world community.

The participants in the roundtable come together on the fact that the deepest foundation for the inequality of the developing countries, the asymmetry of mutual dependence in relations with the developed capitalist countries and the elements of exploitation in that sphere are the economic, social and cultural backwardness of the developing countries, as well as the current low level of development of capitalism in them. The main way of

changing this situation is therefore a consistent policy of re-organizing their economic and social cultures by the developing countries themselves.

In expressing gratitude to the scholars who took part in the discussion, the editors propose to continue the consideration of the issues raised at a deeper level of reasoning, and that it would furthermore be expedient to expand the framework of the problem under discussion and pose the question of the general laws and stages of the development of capitalism as a formation. It is our duty in particular to answer the question formulated by V.A. Medvedev: "...isn't... the era of free competition the predecessor of monopoly capitalism, and the latter a suitable form for the capitalist mode of production?"<sup>15</sup> The editors invite Oriental and African scholars to speak out on these issues.

#### Footnotes

\*—Conclusion. For beginning see: NARODY AZII I AFRIKI. 1988, No 5, p 123.

1. K. Marx and F. Engels. Works. Vol. 24, p 126.

2. Ibid., Part III, pp 104-105.

3. It could, for example, convert, i.e. transform, "exploitation" into "inequality."

4. All of the elements delineated in it can be seen in the structure (and problem) of the foreign debt of the developing countries.

5. That is why it has not been possible thus far to uncover the substance of the concepts of "neo-colonialism," "neo-colonial productive relations" and "neo-colonial ownership."

6. Yu. Shiryayev. "Two Lines Under the Conditions of Contemporary Productive Turnaround."—PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA. 1986, No 1, p 54.

7. Calculated from the data of Table 37 in the work "Contemporary Imperialism and the Liberated Countries of Africa" (Moscow, 1986, p 273).

8. The ratio of the value index of a unit of exports and the value index of a unit of imports.

9. Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics. 1987. Supplement. UNCTAD. N.Y., 1988, p 92.

10. Ibid., pp 74, 136-157; Change in the Asian Pacific Realm. Policy Prospects. Congressional Research Service. Library of Congress. Washington, 1986, August.

11. Handbook.... pp A36, A40.

12. Protectionism and Structural Restructuring. Report of the UNCTAD Secretariat. Part I, 1986. January. p 20 (TD/B/1081).

13. See: S.L. Vygodskiy. Contemporary Capitalism. Experience of Theoretical Analysis. Moscow, 1969, p 220; A. Kogan. The Problem of "Value" in Das Kapital by K. Marx (Points of Departure for Further Research).—EKONOMICHESKIYE NAUKI. 1974, No 2, pp 25-34.

14. PRAVDA, 19 Feb 88.

15. V. Medvedev. Great October and the Contemporary World.—KOMMUNIST. 1988, No 2, p 6. COPY-RIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki", Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1988

**Mechanisms, Forms of Technology Transfer**  
*18070186g Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 88 pp 101-108*

[Article by A.P. Kandalintsev and V.G. Kandalintsev: "Mechanisms and Forms of Technology Transfer to the Developing Countries"]

[Text] *Progressive technology in a backward economy: can the reproductive barrier be surmounted? One promising path for solving this problem is the utilization of various contract forms and the development of joint entrepreneurship.*

The extent to which the developing countries will be able to utilize the achievements of scientific and technical revolution will define the prospects for their ascendancy to a higher level of economic maturity. Whence the importance of the transfer of technology to them by the developed countries.

The difficulties are not limited to access to technology, the terms of its receipt and the ability of the developing countries to improve the technology they have acquired themselves. The actual applicability of technology depends on the parameters of the reproductive process in the countries acquiring the technology: the level and nature of the social division of labor, the availability of qualified personnel, the capacity and diversification of sales markets, the limited structure and speed of circulation of capital and the like. The principal question is ultimately in what manner modern equipment and technology can be moved into the conditions of a type of reproduction unsuitable for them. This is the real contradiction of the socio-economic activity of the developing countries. A narrowness of the market and splintering of demand are characteristic of their economies, while Western technology is oriented toward larger volume markets. This leads to the fact that the classical mechanism of progress for equipment and technology in the developing countries is disrupted.

A consistent transition from traditional technological modes of production to manufacturing, and then machinery, ones has occurred in the Western countries to the extent of the development of capitalism, which has corresponded to progress in accumulation, improvements in the organization of production, a rise in the skill levels of the workforce and an expansion of the market. The situation under the conditions of the developing countries, as is well known, is somewhat different.

Imports of highly productive technology and its incorporation under reproductive conditions unsuited to it frequently lead to the fact that one or two modern enterprises prove to be sufficient for the country's needs; a mechanism of mass renewal of fixed capital, in view of the small volume of the market, is not actually in effect there; the problem of sales thus becomes exceedingly difficult as a consequence. There is no way out based either on reducing production expenses via improving the equipment and organization of production, or through an expansion of the absolute size of the market based on the development of allied industries or growth in personal consumption. The narrowness of the market actually blocks the process of restructuring its physical-value structure under the effects of a rise in sector labor productivity. This leads to the under-utilization of production capacity and is thereby a drag on the growth of an organic structure of capital and on technological progress.

Such contradictions do not signify the impossibility of transforming the productive forces of the developing countries on the basis of modern technology. They sooner testify to the fact that the actual process of such a transformation will necessarily transpire in contradictory fashion.

The focus in resolving development problems can be placed either on national resources or on foreign investments that are attracted. Technology cannot fulfill the transforming role within the framework of local private-capital forms of technology management in view of the unsuitability of the national reproductive process. Technology functions within the framework of the foreign sector under reproductive conditions suitable for it, but its application is subordinate to the task of optimizing the process of self-augmentation of foreign capital, and not the development tasks of the given country. Such a situation leads in and of itself, as it were, to forms in which ownership of the technology would belong to the developing countries but its functioning transpires within the reproductive process of foreign capital.

Definite changes occurred in the pattern of economic relations mediating the transfer of technology to the developing countries in the 1980s. The net influx of foreign private direct investments to the developing countries declined from 14.2 billion dollars in 1981 to 8.0 billion in 1986.<sup>1</sup> Joint entrepreneurship was expanded. The volumes of contract credit grew somewhat. Contract forms became more diverse. All of this

defines the overall trend of changes in the methods of technology transfer: it consists of a shift from direct investments to portfolio ones and from joint enterprises to contract forms (with the subsequent partial return to joint entrepreneurship). The following types of contracts are employed in practice: "subcontracts," "management contracts," "product-sharing agreements," "service contracts," "turnkey contracts," "finished-product terms" and "sales terms" among others.<sup>2</sup>

**Subcontracts.** This form of agreement usually exists when the local companies are small, the level of technology they employ is low and there is strong competition among local producers in the market of the given country. In such a situation an MNC [multinational corporation] selects one or several firms and concludes agreements (subcontracts) with them. The MNC establishes production standards and institutes a system of quality control in exchange for a guarantee to sell the output of the local producer at prices acceptable to him.

The output produced by the subcontractors is sold under the trademark of the foreign firm. The position of the local enterprise is thus reminiscent of that of an affiliate of the MNC. The complete separation of capital-functions from capital-ownership is thereby accomplished in concluding subcontracts. The local entrepreneur thus owns just his own enterprise, and the functioning of the latter transpires like the functioning of MNC capital.

**Management contracts.** The degree of separation of capital-functions from capital-ownership in these contract relations is higher overall than with subcontracts, since the foreign capital determines all of the most important directions of enterprise activity for a long period of time: current and long-range planning of activity, management of finances (obtaining loans, monitoring the state of liquid assets), administrative and personnel policy, production management and organization of sales.

**Turnkey contracts** are actually close to purchase and sale deals. The investment element is the lowest in them. The finished-product terms form has a higher investment element, since the MNC accomplishes the management of a number of aspects of production activity connected with setting up the technological process, working out the organization of production and training personnel for a certain period of time. **Sales-terms contracts** possess the highest investment elements of this group, insofar as they directly envisage the sale of some of the output through MNC channels, i.e. the partial functioning of the enterprise in the reproductive process of the MNC.

**Product-sharing and service contracts** are employed almost exclusively in the petroleum sector. In a product-sharing contract the foreign company performs the field exploration in the developing country and, in the event reserves are detected that are sufficient for commercial exploitation, offers equipment, know-how and the essential personnel, receiving in return a fixed portion of the output. Contracts of this type closely approach direct

investment in the content of the investment element. Under a service contract, a foreign company engages only in geological survey operations and performs its duties until the moment petroleum is found. Two varieties of such agreements exist in practice. The first are contracts according to the terms of which the so-called operational risk is borne by the foreign company, while the costs of exploitation are borne by the state. The foreign company receives the right to procure part of the petroleum produced (from 20 to 50 percent) at a discount of 3-10 percent of the world price level in exchange for the services rendered. The second variety of operational risk is borne by the government of the developing country, while the foreign company receives a fixed portion of the price of a barrel of oil (usually less than 1 percent) as well as the right to procure a certain portion of the oil produced, but not at a discount.

The more weakly the investment element is expressed in the types of contract under consideration, the less the contractor-enterprise is connected to the reproductive process of the MNC, and the less the technology employed is suited to the reproductive conditions of the developing countries. A greater amount of freedom of utilization of the enterprise for development needs is provided for at the same time. And on the contrary, the more powerfully expressed the investment element is, the stronger the link of the enterprise with the reproductive process of the MNC and the less the reproductive limitations on the functioning of progressive technology make themselves felt, but the greater the difficulties that arise in orienting the activity of such an enterprise to resolving development tasks.

It seems that neither a unilateral reliance on attracting foreign direct investment nor restrictions on relations with MNCs to the sphere of trade alone are an optimal strategy for national technological development. Only the more or less widespread use of contract forms (together with joint entrepreneurship) can provide a real, albeit contradictory, path to improving technology in the developing countries based on its transfer from the centers of the world capitalist economy.

The employment in practice of specific forms evolves either in the direction of direct investments or in the direct of purchase and sale deals. The former type of evolution is typical of the developing countries overall. Turnkey contracts were widely used in the 1970s, for example. But their negative traits for the developing countries were soon revealed: they did not provide for the training of personnel or the set-up of technological processes. The finished-product terms contract developed out of this turnkey contract as a consequence, where these issues were resolved. The finished-product terms contracts, however, evolved into sales-terms contracts, according to which the MNCs were obliged to procure a portion of the enterprise output. But difficulties arose in this case as well with the sale of the

remaining portion of the output along with other problems that impel the contractor to sell some of the stock in the MNC, i.e. a renewal of investment activity as such.

Contract forms, even though facilitating technology transfer to the developing countries and accelerating their technical progress, thus do not eliminate its contradictions, since technical progress is accomplished, albeit to different extents, under the control of the MNC in strict "dosages."

This is manifested to the full extent in the policies of the MNCs in the realm of technology transfer. A comparative analysis of the flows of technology induced by the MNCs shows that the least modern technology is transferred by jointly owned companies in the developing countries. It can be assumed that the latter receive even more outdated technology when contract forms are practiced. Licensing agreements (and other contracts) are often accompanied with considerable restrictions concerning utilizing the results of the application of the technology being transferred as well. Restrictions on exports (in the most varied of forms) of output produced under the licensing are exceedingly widespread in particular. The prospects for the independent access of national capital to foreign markets are significantly narrowed thereby.

**Table 1. Rate of Technology Transfer from Lead Companies of American MNCs Outside the Boundaries of the United States**

Channel of international technology transfer	Average time lag from moment of incorporation (years)
MNC affiliates in developed countries	5.8
MNC affiliates in developing countries	9.8
Jointly owned companies	13.1

Source: V.N. Shitov. "Tekhnologicheskii neokolonializm: istoki i sovremennaya praktika" [Technological Imperialism: Origins and Contemporary Practice]. Moscow, 1985, p 54.

As a result of the limiting actions of the MNCs, the national capital of the developing countries once again encounters the problem of the unsuitability of the reproductive process, but now with the fruits of the method of overcoming that unsuitability itself.

It must be noted that the limited business practices of the MNCs in the sphere of technology transfer to the developing countries has essentially become a new and technological variety of colonialism. Making use of various restrictions, or even abuses, the MNCs are strengthening their exploitation of the liberated countries through raising the size of payments for technology, setting unjustifiably long time periods for agreements and creating a system of strict control over the activity of national enterprises (interfering in management, forcing the licensee to use the licensor's system of quality control, prohibiting the use of technology competing with that obtained by agreement etc.), and the developing countries are for namely that reason waging a struggle for the democratization of international technology transfer.<sup>3</sup>

The mobility of multinational capital is becoming a more and more important factor of technology transfer under contemporary conditions. This is distinctly manifested in the realm of the multi-national informational infrastructure and the cross-border flows of data based on it. "Opportunities in the realm of the transfer and exchange of, and access to, computerized information on a global scale has undoubtedly become an important tool in the activity of the MNCs," states a research study undertaken by the UN. "The multinational corporations are making more and more active use of it to ensure greater coordination in managing their geographically broad and functionally diverse operations. This tool is being used more and more by them to provide advantages in competitive struggle or simply to preserve their competitive ability... As research shows, the significance of this information will grow more and more in the near future."<sup>4</sup> The development of an information infrastructure will raise the timeliness and detail of the economic and other information received by the MNCs. This objectively creates the possibility of orienting business operations toward medium- and short-term agreements as well as long-term ones. The efficient realization of such an opportunity is closely linked with the degree of mobility of capital and its ability to be shifted quickly from certain functional forms to others. Contract forms possess advantages compared to direct investments from this point of view; this makes it possible to assume that the interest of the MNCs in these forms will grow.

Table 2. South Korea: Minority\* Foreign Participation by Sectors of the Economy

Sector	Minority foreign participation in percent of:			
	overall number of		aggregate amount	
	firms with participation of foreign capital		of investments of firms with participation of foreign capital	
	1968	1980	1968	1980
Agriculture, fishing and timber industry	37.5	68.3	66.0	60.0
Mining industry	—	65.4	—	75.0
Processing industry	46.2	43.2	25.0	26.0
Including:				
textiles	56.3	63.9	34.0	13.0
chemicals	33.3	40.9	1.0	18.0
petroleum refining	66.7	28.6	65.0	14.0
metallurgy and machine building	50.0	45.0	26.0	35.0
electrical and electronic machine building	21.4	30.7	—	40.0
Finance	50.0	36.4	73.0	35.0
Construction	—	38.9	—	40.0
Hotel services	30.0	27.9	86.0	19.0
Others	100.0	39.1	100.0	49.0
Economy overall	43.4	44.3	27.0	27.0

Source: U.N. Transnational Corporations in World Development. Third Survey. N.Y., 1983, p 355. \*—less than 50 percent of shares.

In recent years the more developed of the liberated countries have been making efforts to develop an information industry. The "Systems Technology Management" (STM) enterprise has been created in South Korea. Its participants are an MNC (Electronic Data Systems) and the South Korean Lucky Goldstar group. STM will offer computer and telecommunications services to multinational firms and government institutions.

Such instances testify to a certain evolution of the mechanism of technology transfer from the developed to the developing countries. An important component—joint enterprises and contract forms in the sphere of the information industry—is taking shape at the current stage. It seems that without that component the technology transfer model through "new forms of investment" of the MNCs in the developing countries will prove to be ineffective in the future, since this will, on the one hand, lead to reductions of the vested interest of the MNCs in these forms and, on the other hand, will have a depressive influence on the market competitiveness of national companies of the developing countries in foreign markets, which will also lead to the effect of reproductive restrictions on the functioning of modern technology.

The mechanism of the principal trend of technology transfer has consequently not remained unchanged. In the 1970s this trend was engendered basically by the lack of correspondence between the nature of the technology being transferred and the specific nature of the reproductive conditions in the developing countries. The policy of those countries aimed at stimulating contract

forms and joint entrepreneurship as forms for the relative resolution of the contradictions that arose are a reflection of that lack of correspondence. Processes within the MNCs themselves, however, later began to take on more and more significance. The rise in the role of capital mobility in connection with the intensification of cross-border flows of data along with other factors gives a somewhat different direction to the trend: the steady shift toward contract forms without the private return to direct foreign investment. This makes it possible to draw a conclusion regarding the instability and heterogeneity of the mechanism of the principal trend of technology transfer. Existing statistical data (especially for South Korea; Table 2), in our opinion, confirm this conclusion. A trend toward a slow reduction in the share of firms with minority foreign participation in the overall number of firms with foreign participation is typical of the machining industry in South Korea overall. The share of minority investment in the aggregate volume of investment in companies with foreign participation increased somewhat at the same time.

The data cited, however, reflect a certain balance of shifts of various directions in sectors (more precisely, various sector phases of a single trend). By virtue of the effects of mutual damping, the dynamic nature of the basic trend of technology transfer is manifested overall in the machining industry more weakly than in a sector taken separately. Data on the petroleum industry, for example, testify to the sharp drop in the share of firms with minority foreign participation and an even sharper drop of the minority foreign investment in aggregate foreign investment.



The processes of differentiation in the developing world have given rise to the appearance of yet another aspect of the problem—technology transfers from one developing country to another. A number of states (including first and foremost Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, India, South Korea and some others) have been able to develop their own scientific and technical potential to a certain extent. The initial phase of this development was connected chiefly with the adaptation of Western technology apropos of the conditions of those countries,<sup>5</sup> i.e. with a certain simplification of the technology, reductions in

the scale of its application in specific production systems, a regard for climatic factors, a re-orientation of the technology toward local raw materials etc. The presence of technology adapted to the conditions of the developing countries and the potential for improving it creates a basis for technological exports from the more developed countries to the backward countries of the Third World (Table 3). An analysis of the directions of technology exports from the five countries under consideration shows that practically all of them were going to the developing countries and just in certain cases, few in number, to the developed states.

Table 3. Cumulative Technological Exports

Type of export	Argentina		Brazil		India		South Korea		Mexico	
	Value (millions of dollars)	Number of contracts	Value (millions of dollars)	Number of contracts	Value (millions of dollars)	Number of contracts	Value (millions of dollars)	Number of contracts	Value (millions of dollars)	Number of contracts
Exports of construction services	616	32	4283	147	6024	—	43953	—	984	58
	(7/1982)*		(12/1982)		(11/1981)		(12/1981)		(9/1982)	
Licenses, consulting and technical services	60	165	357	112	500	—	472	363	51	—
	(12/1982)		(beginning of 1980)		(4/1982)				(10/1981)	
Direct foreign investment with a technology component (machining industry)	45	127	20	59	95	129	67	34	23	19
	(6/1981)		(2/1981)		(8/1980)		(12/1981)	(beginning of 1980)**		
Exports of enterprises	186	118	1655	—	1858	203	2570	276	41	9
	(7/1981)		(12/1981)		(6/1982)		(12/1981)	(beginning of 1980)		
Exports of investment goods (1975-1979)	1969		5855		1813		5760		1711	

Source: Journal of Development Economics, 1984, No 16, p 68. \*—In parentheses: date (month and year) of the data cited. \*\*—Investments in the countries of Latin America.

Technology transfer from the "upper echelon" to the backward countries of the Third World will evidently play a larger role in the future than today. The "upper echelon" countries can already now be considered in a certain sense transshipment bases through which (after the appropriate adaptation) Western technology is directed to many of the liberated states. This is a kind of alternative (in relation to MNC channels) path for the dissemination of Western technology for a considerable portion of the developing world.

The significance of this channel could grow in the future, since access to the next spiral of scientific and technical revolution will possibly lead to a marked decrease in world demand for the products of the developing countries and, as a consequence, a drop in the vested interest of the MNCs in operations on the periphery of the world capitalist economy. The "newly industrialized nations" are potentially able to provide compensation for the loss of sources of progressive technology associated with this, transferring their technology to the less developed part of

the developing world and simultaneously preparing for themselves conditions for the receipt of the latest Western technology.

The problem of technology transfer nonetheless remains exceedingly difficult for the developing countries. The mechanism of technology exports from the centers of the world capitalist economy to its periphery are such that it is becoming obsolescent more quickly than a mature degree of its utilization is reached. This circumstance can make itself felt especially acutely in connection with the rise in the significance of the information sphere and the pace of the phenomena it gives rise to. Existing achievements in the renewal of the production base and augmenting the scientific and technical potential of the developing countries are far from leading automatically to a weakening of the acuity of this problem. Without profound democratic transformations in international economic relations (including the sphere of technology transfer), it is difficult to expect a marked acceleration of technological progress in the developing world. The significance of the collaboration of the developing countries with the socialist states, and in particular the USSR and the other countries of CEMA, is gradually increasing under these conditions.

The member countries of CEMA are not only aiding the developing countries in progressive technology, but are also assisting them in training national personnel, creating an intrinsic scientific-research infrastructure, offering special loans on preferential terms etc. Aid in the training of national personnel on the spot is supplemented with teaching in the CEMA countries. The collaboration of the USSR with India can serve as an example of the technological assistance being rendered by the countries of socialism to the developing countries.<sup>6</sup>

The comprehensive nature of technology transfer from the CEMA member countries to the developing countries and the orientation of the mechanism of technology transfer to their vital needs are eliminating the very foundation of the negative consequences that the employment of contract forms entails when the other contracting party is an MNC. The increase in the number of turnkey contracts and licensing agreements being concluded by the CEMA countries and the liberated nations could be unequivocally regarded as a progressive phenomenon. The proportionate share of turnkey forms in the overall volume of USSR collaboration with the developing nations, for example, was 40 percent in 1983.<sup>7</sup> Technology transfer is being accomplished more and more widely on the basis of licensing agreements. The sales volume of Soviet licenses in 1971-80 grew by more than ten times. The largest buyers of Soviet technology include India, Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Syria, Algeria, Libya, Egypt and Afghanistan. Soviet technology is being used under license in 24 developing countries.<sup>8</sup> The licensing agreements concluded by the CEMA countries contain no clauses putting the licensee in a position of

technological dependence or obliging him to make procurements of equipment from certain firms. This testifies to the qualitative difference of technology transfer to the developing countries from the centers of the world capitalist economy and from the socialist countries.

There are naturally still no few reserves in the sphere of technology transfer to expand the collaboration of the socialist and developing countries. The development of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Progress of the CEMA Countries and the policy of the USSR and other socialist states of the active utilization of contemporary forms of foreign economic ties (the organization of joint enterprises and the development of scientific and technical and production cooperation among others) are creating opportunities for a further rise in the effectiveness of technological exchange.

#### Footnotes

1. MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYE OTNOSHENIYA. 1988, No 7, p 136.

2. The classification utilized herein is quite theoretical, which is associated with the specific features of the subject of classification itself. International technological exchange arose at the intersection of production science and technology and trade and economic collaboration; this predetermined the flexible boundaries of forms of it.

3. See: V.N. Shitov. Problems of the Democratization of International Technology Transfer.—NARODY AZII I AFRIKI. 1987, No 3, pp 91-95.

4. U.N. E/C 10/1984/14, p 17.

5. Out of six Indian companies researched, the initial source of technology for effectively all of them was imports to this or that extent. Nine firms cited the development of new types of products as being among the principal incentives for technical shifts (A.V. Bereznoy. "Mezhdunarodnyye kompanii razvivayushchikhsya stran" [International Companies of the Developing Countries]. Moscow, 1986, pp 50-53).

6. For more detail see: G.I. Georgiyev. Soviet-Indian Collaboration in the Development of the National Industry of India.—NARODY AZII I AFRIKI. 1987, No 4, pp 13-25.

7. The Countries of CEMA in International Technology Exchange, pp 235-237.

8. Ibid., p 250. COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki", Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1988

### Third Conference of Soviet Orientalists Reviewed

18070186h Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in  
Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 88 pp 136-144

[Article by L.B. Alayev and S.S. Nikiforova under the rubric "Academic Life": "Interaction and Mutual Influence of Cultures and Civilizations—The 3rd All-Union Conference of Oriental Scholars"\*]

[Text] The 3rd All-Union Conference of Soviet Oriental scholars was held in Dushanbe on 16-18 May 88 and was a thematic one, as opposed to the preceding ones (Tashkent in 1957<sup>1</sup> and Baku in 1983<sup>2</sup>). The theme "The Interaction and Mutual Influence of Cultures and Civilizations" was sufficiently broad to attract the attention of all specialists united by the term "Oriental scholars"—historians, economists, literary scholars, linguists, cultural scholars etc. It focuses attention simultaneously namely on the contacts of regions, countries, ethnic groups, religious denominations and the role of the external factor in cultural, socio-political and economic history and thereby narrows and makes concrete the sphere of inquiry. Opinions were expressed at the conference that the theme was too broad and was turning the conference, like the prior ones, into an unconnected set of papers. It is difficult, however, to agree with this point of view. This series of conferences was conceived as and continues to be namely meetings of all Oriental scholars and representatives of all areas of the Oriental-studies disciplines. Conferences of political scientists, economists and religious scholars, on the one hand, and Indian, Chinese, Arab or other scholars, on the other, take their own course. One cannot reduce the conference of Oriental scholars to a conference of one portion of them, and that would inevitably occur if we were to narrow the range of problems any more.

Of course, the question has long come up—and the further we go, the more insistently it will come up—of whether Oriental studies is preserved as a set of disciplines, i.e. hasn't it broken up into individual fields connected with each other only formally and, consequently, are conferences of Oriental scholars productive? The majority of the participants answer this question in the affirmative. One of the theses of the summary paper of the chairman of the All-Union Association of Oriental Scholars (AAOS), USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member G.F. Kim, was devoted to the problem of the unity of the Oriental-studies complex and the benefits of this unity.<sup>3</sup> The theme of the conference itself moreover emphasized the necessity of such unity, since the contacts of societies cannot be restricted to the framework of some single sphere—political, for example, or economic. There are always processes of interaction of cultures in the broadest sense of the word: the clashes of ways of life, value systems, national psychologies and the like. Such a theme could not have been formulated for the all-union conference just a few years ago. The interconnection of everything done in the world, the essentially global nature of any mini-process, as well as the immediate interdependence of all aspects

of social life—the role of denominational and ethnic factors in politics, the role of the "human factor" in economics and the like—have become especially clear in recent years.

The first secretary of the CP Central Committee of Tajikistan, K.M. Makhkamov, welcomed the participants at the opening of the conference.

Addressing the conference participants, USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute Director and USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member M.S. Kapitsa noted that during the period of restructuring, the role of science and the intellectual potential of the country are growing considerably. Oriental scholars face crucial tasks in this regard. The conference was called upon to project ways of resolving them. M.S. Kapitsa described the profound changes that are occurring in the countries of Asia and Africa. Many of them are being drawn into the world capitalist economy, and the socio-economic differentiation of these countries, and frequently their political polarization, is growing stronger. The socio-economic base of the socialist countries of the Orient is being reinforced at the same time, and the role of the countries of Asia and Africa in the development of international relations and the fight to eliminate the threat of a new war and to strengthen peace is increasing. The solution of the problem of regional conflicts has great significance. These and many other questions require profound analysis.

M.S. Kapitsa thanked the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, the government of the republic and the TaSSR Academy of Sciences for their active participation in preparing the conference.

The paper of G.F. Kim and the supporting paper by TaSSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute Director and TaSSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member A.T. Tursunov were presented.<sup>4</sup> The critical enthusiasm contained in those papers and their thrust first and foremost at uncovering shortcomings and showing reserves rather than enumerating accomplishments set the tone for the conference. He was supported in a number of presentations and at the plenary sessions.

The deputy chairman of the AAOS and editor-in-chief of the journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, L.B. Alayev (Moscow), emphasized the necessity of getting out of the crisis that Soviet social sciences are in as the result of the dogmatization of the theories of Marxism-Leninism. In the same way that a nuclear catastrophe awaits us without the new political thinking or economic and crisis and hunger without economic reform, an ideological collapse is inevitable in the same manner without theoretical relearning. An ideological renewal assumes—as concerns the problems of our country—the necessity of interpreting its history and its present. But Oriental scholars are occupied with foreign countries, and in this sphere signs of new approaches are still not palpable enough. Objective information on the situation in the

foreign countries of Asia and Africa and about their problems, especially the difficulties of the countries with progressive regimes or regimes friendly to the USSR, not only does not make the pages of the mass media, but academic periodicals published for a narrow circle of specialists either. A paradoxical situation has arisen: that which was secret before is now being widely published, but that which is known to the whole world remains a secret for the Soviet reader.

V.I. Braginskiy (Moscow) addressed the necessity of a re-orientation in the study of Oriental literatures and cultures. He noted that the classical legacy of the Orient is not only the history and culture of past eras, but living modern times as well. The classical works, their figurative structure, their ethics and aesthetics are infinitely more important and topical to the resident of the contemporary Oriental country than contemporary European-style literature. A study of the artifacts of culture from both the academic and the practical points of view accordingly retains enormous significance. Their study in and of itself can be oriented namely toward an understanding of the contemporary Oriental mentality.

L.E. Myall (Tartu) calls for expanded publication of translations of ancient and medieval philosophical literature. "Text" (from a semiotic point of view) is a living phenomenon that changes depending on the perceived subject. A text is always contemporary in that sense. A text is moreover perceived not only by the conscious mind, but the subconscious as well, and one cannot know in advance what associations are evoked by an ancient work in the modern mind. The utilization of all of the intellectual wealth accumulated by mankind is essential to the development of technical thought as well as the humanities. Let Lao Tse, Confucius, Buddha, Nagarjuna and the authors of the Bible, said M.E. Myall, become participants in our restructuring. He proposed founding a popular series of translations called "Fundamental Texts of Human Culture."

A chronological principle rather than a disciplinary one was the determinant in dividing into sections: the historians, linguists, philologists and, for modern times, the economists, discussed their problems jointly within the framework of the "Ancient History," "Middle Ages" and "Recent and Modern History" sections. This division justified itself in the sections on antiquity, where the philologists and historians were united to a considerable extent by the very type of pursuits (work with texts) and for recent and modern history, where the striving for unity of various specialists was manifested and has been a conscious one in recent years. The section "Historical and Cultural Ties of the Peoples of the USSR," united by cultural-studies problems, and the "Nomadic and Settled Ways of Life," thanks to a unity of the object of research, were also quite integral.

One cannot say the same for the "Middle Ages" section. Philological papers weakly linked with history predominated here, and a fruitful dialogue of specialists from

various fields did not occur. One reason for this, quite profound and thus alarming, is the reduction in the number of medieval historians in recent years and the drop in research on the history of the Middle Ages in Soviet Oriental studies. An analogous cause led to the fact that the topic of the section on recent and modern history turned out to be almost completely colonialism. And after all, this is one of the clearest examples of the interaction of civilizations and formations.

The sections on medieval and recent and modern history also suffered from the fact that the organizers, oriented toward the quantity of papers announced, divided these two sections into regional subsections, thereby undermining the idea that was at the heart of the plan—to allow people of different fields occupied with similar issues to meet. These shortcomings must be taken into account when organizing subsequent such conferences, and the number of papers planned as basic themes for discussion must be reduced.

The large number of the papers presented (over 160) did not provide an opportunity of giving sufficient information on them in the survey.

The "Ancient History" section discussed a broad circle of issues related to various chronological intervals from the ancient historical era to recent antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Of interest were the papers "On the Question of the Derivation of Livestock Breeding in Ancient Hither Asia According Using the Data of Comparative Historical Language Studies" by A.Yu. Militarev (Moscow) and "Stages in the Development of Livestock Breeding in the Syro-Palestine Region in Antiquity" by V.A. Shnirelman (Moscow). The paper by I.I. Peyros (Moscow) titled "A Reconstruction of the Ancient Linguistic Situation in East Asia" relates to roughly this same era (10th-8th centuries B.C.). These papers were based on conclusions drawn in recent decades in world, and first and foremost Soviet, linguistics. The discussion concerns data describing the ties and origins of a number of the world's languages—from Africa to Southeast Asia. These conclusions make it possible to resolve a series of ethno-linguistic problems more deeply, in the same way as questions of social and economic history, especially the emergence of a producing economy in Hither Asia. They conform overall to traditional archaeological and ethnographic data.

Several papers discussed issues associated with the culture, religion, economics and architecture of various countries of the Orient. A.I. Ivanchuk (Moscow) called into question the postulates of I.M. Dyakonov regarding the ethnic name of "Kimmerites," feeling that the genuine sound of this ethnic name was recorded by the Assyrian inscription, and the Greeks obtained it through a foreign-language intermediary, the Phrygian-Proto-Armenian that had disintegrated no later than the 12th century B.C. A.I. Ivanchuk, on the basis of research into the etymology of the term, concluded that the Greeks discovered the name "Kimmerites" through a Lydian

intermediary and preserved the spelling κινεόποι. If this is true, the author suggests, the etymology for this ethnic name proposed by I.M. Dyakonov cannot be accepted. G.Kh. Sarkisyan (Yerevan) considered the process of dissemination of elements of Greek civilization (language, material and spiritual culture, political and economic structure etc.) in Babylonia and Armenia. O.V. Tomashevich (Moscow) traced the path of penetration of Asian cults into ancient Egypt. The topic of the paper by I.V. Pyankov (Dushanbe) was "Beliefs of the Ancient Farming Tribes of Central Asia (1st Millennium B.C.) and Zoroastrianism," that of V.G. Shkoba (Leningrad) "Temples of Sogdiana: Hellenistic and Hither-Oriental Traditions," that of S.I. Khodzhah (Moscow), "Ancient Egyptian Objects on Central Asian Territory," that of S.A. Uzyanov (Moscow), "New Approaches to the Glass Items in Western Hadhramaut (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen)" etc.

The content of those papers was distinguished by academic innovation and, although some of them had a narrow and special nature at first glance, they posed questions on a theoretical and methodological plane. The multitude of questions posed to the speakers and the animated discussion testified to the interest in the papers.

The "Middle Ages" section worked in two regional subsections: A) the Near and Middle East and India, and B) Southeast Asia and the Far East. The greatest interest in subsection A was generated by the papers devoted to the ties of the Persian-Tajik and Arab (including pre-Islamic) cultures (Yu.A. Rubinchik, Moscow; T.N. Mardonov, Dushanbe; I.V. Kaladze, Tbilisi) and the influence of Indian aesthetics on central Asian cultures (N.Yu. Chalisova, Moscow; Sh. Mukhammadiev, Dushanbe; A. Alimardonov, Dushanbe; M. Olimov, Dushanbe). Certain traits of Indian imagery of J. Rumi were detected by M. Shakhidi (Dushanbe); her paper was devoted to the unity of cultural traditions of the Muslim world from Asia Minor to Maverannakhra. Jumping ahead, it should be said that the influence of Indian culture was also traced in a series of papers that were presented in the "Historical Ties of the Peoples of the USSR" section (T.K. Beysembiyev, Alma-Ata; S. Olimova, Dushanbe).

The papers of I.D. Serebryakov (Moscow) on the concept of "literary commonality," N.I. Prigarina (Moscow) on Sufi models in Persian-Tajik tradition and Sh.M. Shukurova (Moscow) on the principles of formation of decorative arts in Islam posed general theoretical questions. The insufficient preparedness of the audience for a discussion at this level was sensed in the discussion of these papers.

A group of papers was devoted to questions of textual studies. A. Afsakhzod (Dushanbe) described the principal traits of the Tajik textological school and various approaches to the treatment of texts that exist in it.

These questions were also touched on in many other papers. The section came up with the suggestion of holding an all-union conference on textual studies.

The A section also heard the paper of Ye.K. Simonova-Gudzenko (Moscow) titled "An Attempt to Analyze the Structure of Power in Ancient and Medieval Japan," which was in theme closer to subsection B. It analyzed the functions of the Japanese emperor as the sacred leader of the people.

The papers in subsection B on the Middle Ages could also have been divided into theoretical and concrete historical ones. The first group includes the papers "The Interaction of Cultures and the Literary Process" by K.I. Golygina (Moscow), "Buddhism and the Literature of the Countries of Indochina" by Yu.M. Osipov (Leningrad), "The Buddhist Philosophical Treatise as an Object of Interaction Among Cultures" by Ye.P. Ostrovskaya (Leningrad), "Buddhism and an Anthology of Traditional Beliefs" by K.M. Gerasimova (Ulan-Ude) and "Tibetan Buddhism and Its Role in the History of the Cultures of the Peoples of Central Asia in the Middle Ages" by R.Ye. Pubayev and N.D. Bolksheyeva (both—Ulan-Ude). The papers showed that the level of interpretation of cultural processes in Southeast Asia in Soviet academics is quite high overall. The absence of broad civilizational research for South Asia was vividly manifested against this background. Whereas the problems of "Islam and culture" and "Buddhism and culture" were sounded quite distinctly, the question of "Hinduism and culture" was not raised at all. Indian civilization is moreover itself a synthesis of cultures, and its study from this angle was planned by the organizers but did not take place.

The papers of V.F. Sorokin (Moscow) on the influence of Chinese theater of the 13th-14th centuries on neighboring countries, A.D. Burman (Leningrad) on perceptions of Indian theatrical traditions in the countries of Southeast Asia, V.I. Braginskiy on the ties between Malaysian and Persian literature, S.S. Kuznetsova (Moscow) on the syncretic culture of the Javanese and Long Seam (Moscow) on early Sanskrit borrowings in the ancient Khmer language among others were of great interest.

The sessions of the section "Nomadic and Settled Ways of Life" were marked by the most acute and substantial problems of the history of nomadic peoples and problems associated with the general tendency to settle down. Preferential attention was devoted to increasing the economic and cultural symbiosis of the nomads and settled population of Middle and Central Asia, as well as the ecological conditionality of extensive livestock breeding in an arid zone. It was proposed to devote especial attention in the future to uncovering and finding written artifacts created by the nomads themselves or containing information about them. The prevailing accomplishments in this area were reflected in the papers of M.Kh. Abuseutova (Alma-Ata), D.D. Vasilyev (Moscow), I.V. Stebleva (Moscow) and S.G. Klyashtorny

(Leningrad). The necessity of a comprehensive study of the problems of nomadic life in conjunction with geographers, economists, ethnographers, philologists and archaeologists was emphasized. Papers were devoted to the role of nomads in the history of China (D.V. Dubrovskaya, Moscow; K.V. Dalshin, Kemerovo; Kh.Sh. Khafazova, Alma-Ata; A.Sh. Kadyrbayev, Alma-Ata) and Central Asia (R.G. Muminova, Tashkent; Yu.S. Khudyakov, Novosibirsk; M.Kh. Abuseitova), as well as such peoples as the Volga Bulgars (A.Kh. Khalikov, Kazan), the peoples of the Urals-Volga region (T.M. Garipov, R.G. Kuzeyev, Ufa), the Tatars (S.G. Klyash-tornyy), the peoples of contemporary Afghanistan (Sh. Zaritov, Dushanbe) and Kidans and Kirghiz (G.V. Dluzhnevskaya, Leningrad) among others.

The "Historical and Cultural Ties of the Peoples of the USSR" section was distinguished by the breadth of geographical representation of the participants. Such problems, complex in an academic sense and politically acute, as the fate of some of the nationalities of the North Caucasus, the legitimacy of the theory of the "voluntary annexation to Russia" of some of the peoples of Central Asia and the like were touched on in the course of discussion. The section also did not fail to take into account such a topical issue as the history of the mutual relations of the Armenians and Azerbaijanis. P.M. Muradyan (Yerevan) considered the question of the tendentious nature of the publication of historical sources by Azeri scholars, for example Z.M. Bunyatov. There is no doubt that the use of access to sources to distort their sense and use them in nationalistic propaganda that inflicts harm on another people is unworthy of a scholar. It must be acknowledged that many historians of the Transcaucasus (this is, by the way, typical of historians from other regions as well) subordinate their own academic inquiries to the task of extolling their own people, making its history more ancient and the like, which inflicts harm to the policy of establishing friendly and fraternal relations among peoples. Instances of the tendentious utilization of sources should be met with the condemnation of colleagues.

M.S. Kapitsa, with the concluding words at the plenary session, dwelled in particular on the question of the role of the academic intelligentsia in the internationalist education of the people. He spoke of the fact that the use of academic reputations for purposes far removed from academic objectivity is impermissible.

The "Recent and Modern History" section operated in three sections. Subsection A, in which was concentrated papers on the Orient overall, attracted the attention of the majority of conference participants. B.S. Yerasov (Moscow) illuminated the issue of the difficulties of mutual understanding of various civilizations. The debate over his paper demonstrated that the achievement of mutual understanding is really a complex problem.

V.I. Kornev (Moscow) feels that three types of culture can be delineated: the first, a culture that generates excess energy and as a result of that is constantly expanding; the second, a culture that generates enough energy for reproduction; and third, a culture that needs additional external energy for existence. The energy is created in both the material and the spiritual spheres of every culture. The first type can include such world religions as Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and Hinduism, as well as such cultural phenomena as civil society, capitalism, socialism and science. The second type includes the majority of national cultures, and the third, ethnic cultures, i.e. the cultures of small peoples. The task and goal of such modeling consists not of elaborating which of the cultures is better, but in resolving such issues as the reason for the vitality of this or that culture; what universal human values are contained in each of them; are these or those cultures able to converge and to what limits; what their potential capabilities are etc. Labels that are frequently also applied to cultures have become rooted in our academic literature: "advanced," "backward," "archaic," "progressive" and "reactionary," among others. As a result, it obtains that representatives of "advanced" cultures are prepared, for the sake of material welfare, to infringe upon the very existence of life (nuclear, ecological and other catastrophes). Can it be that "advanced" cultures also have objective flaws? A partial answer to these questions can be provided by the method proclaimed as the principle of the complementary nature of cultures. This method is proposed as one of many approaches to resolving issues of comparative cultural studies.

A.V. Malashenko (Moscow) emphasized the importance of research in the sphere of social thought, which research is most closely linked—supplementing each other and intertwining—with culturological studies, but both disciplines remain independent therein. As for cultural contacts between East and West, in social thought such contacts are often preceded by everything else, including military confrontations and conquests. Social thought is an exceptionally convenient sphere for interchange among civilizations, one result of which is the multitude of ideas and theories that have enriched human thought and stimulated social progress.

The speaker noted that much was said at the conference about religious studies. One of the speakers in particular advised that the strengthening influence of Islam was unexpected both for Soviet Oriental-studies scholars and for practitioners. It seems that this judgment is not quite fair. If we turn to some of the works published in the 1970s, i.e. long before the Iranian revolution, considered the height of the "Islamic boom," they expressed the idea of the particular significance of Islam for the socio-political life of the countries of the Orient, as well as the real possibility of a further increase in the role of the Islamic factor in world politics. These considerations were unfortunately not noticed.

Ye.V. Kotova (Moscow), by way of developing the idea she has advanced jointly with V.G. Rastyannikov on

"Oriental capitalism," substantiated the theory of one of the specific features of the genesis of that capitalism, namely the formation of the superstructure, overtaking the basis in its development.

M.A. Cheshkov (Moscow) considered the issue of the correlation of the concepts of "Orient" and "Third World." The "Orient" is geographically narrower than the "Third World" (it does not include Latin America or, in some interpretations, sub-Saharan Africa). At the same time, the concept of the "Orient" has greater historical depth: it encompasses both many thousands of years of history, and modern times as well. On the one hand, it is seemingly clear that the "Third World" did not simply arise during the period of colonialism as a manifestation of the general laws of the development of world capitalism, that it has some pre-history. On the other hand, attempts to explain the "synthesis" of the traditional Orient with capitalism do not seem sufficiently well-founded. A "topping off" of the theory of the historical development whose section and subject is the socio-historical and philosophical problems of the Third World is needed. This theory will facilitate the integration of knowledge in different disciplines, which is as yet lacking.

Subsection B embraced papers on the contemporary Near and Middle East and Africa. Such topical issues of the interaction of cultures and civilizations as relations among nationalities and denominations, the synthesis of contemporary (Western and Oriental) and traditional power structures, the interaction of the individual and the community of individuals, the spiritual potential of Islamic and African civilizations and the experience of the development of nations and its reflection in literature, ideology and language relations were all considered. A number of papers were devoted to the influence of European, including Russian, literature on the literatures of the Islamic region.

The papers devoted to the recent history of the countries of the Near and Middle East elicited the most discussion. A number of the speakers emphasized that an Islamic resurrection is also being observed in Turkey, one of the states of the Near and Middle East that is most advanced along the path of secularization, and that this is explained by a number of domestic and external factors. The domestic factors include the difficult economic situation and the phenomena of pauperization associated with it, as well as the process of the politization of Islam. The instability of the situation of an enormous mass of unemployed and semi-employed people has stimulated their turn to religion, the roots of which are solidly preserved among the greater portion of the Turkish population.

The external factors of the resurrection of Islam in Turkey include its trade, economic and political relations with the countries of the Near and Middle East, which develop rapidly, as a rule, under the slogan of "Islamic solidarity." The Islamic revolution in Iran and

the attempts of the Khomeini regime to export it to Turkey are an effective catalyst for re-Islamization in Turkey. Various methods are used for this, from radio propaganda to inflaming the dissatisfactions of the Kurds living in the eastern and southeastern vilayets of the country, the greater portion of the population of which are moreover Alawites.

The question of the influence of pan-Islamism on the overall political situation in Turkey was also discussed. The discussions revealed that the Islamic resurrection in Turkey, which existed as early as the 1950s and 1960s, had reached its apogee at the end of the 1970s and in the 1980s. Suppositions were expressed that this process will develop in the future as well. It is true that an unequivocal approach to this issue does not exist among the Turkish ruling elite. It does not seem very likely at the same time that Turkey will digress from the principles of laicism (secularism) and be transformed into an Islamic republic, even though the processes of Islamic resurrection and the re-evaluation of Islamic values will evidently not cease, and the Turkish leaders will be forced to take them into account in their domestic- and foreign-policy activity.

Subsection C—"South, Southeast and East Asia"—included several papers that went beyond the bounds of that region in their significance. The paper by B.Ya. Belokrenitskiy (Moscow), "Colonialism and Traditional Social Structures (Northwest India. Second Half of the 19th Century)," evoked debate on the topic of the correlation of domestic and foreign development factors and the role of the colonial regime. The paper's thesis of the "revolutionary" impact of British administration, which created conditions for "the maturation of some of the preconditions for the spontaneous and elemental development of capitalism," was supported by a number of those speaking in the debates. The problems of the colonial period and their corresponding role in the history of the Orient, as has already been noted, were unfortunately not widely reflected at the conference.

N.G. Slovesnaya (Moscow) traced the interaction of Oriental and Western European cultures in the sphere of the political process in Thailand. Democracy and authoritarianism as it were oppose each other in the history of this country: the sway of authoritarianism in the 1950s and 1960s was replaced by a brief democratic flash in the 1970s, and then—from the end of the 1970s through the present—an unsteady compromise has been established. N.G. Slovesnaya feels that the preservation of traditional (authoritarian) socio-cultural traits is manifested in this.

The paper of A.S. Agadzhanyan (Moscow) presented the political system of Burma in roughly the same way (a combination of modernism and traditional features of the individual and the group). A question arose, however, that remains without an answer at the level of prevailing interpretations: how to explain such a scattering of the political and other fates of the countries of Asia

(and Africa as well) if they often have a common or similar basis (Buddhist culture in the case of Thailand and Burma) and were subjected to the principal traits of a homogeneous foreign influences?

A quite different aspect of the meeting of the Oriental and the Western was illuminated in the paper of V.M. Alpatov (Moscow) in mutual American-Japanese language influences. Japanese culture has evidently from the very beginning gone through the stage of assimilating the Western in a different manner than other Oriental countries, but be that as it may, this stage, it seems, has concluded, and now it is moving from "defense" to the "offensive." There are, in any case, no problems of the "survival" of a culture here.

Contacts with Western culture were the dominant theme, but intra-Asian cultural interaction was not circumscribed either. Ye.A. Kondrashkina (Moscow) spoke of the dialectic of the fragmentation and adaptation of the *huaqiao* (Chinese ethnic groups) in Southeast Asia; L.M. Yefimova (Moscow) spoke on the exceedingly specific Indonesian Islam, as it were "incomplete" from the point of view of the classical prototype, constituting an alloy of other religious traditions (an attempt to bring up to date the well-known three-part scheme of K. Girts); and, L.S. Perelomov spoke of the use of a "re-interpretation" of the teachings of Confucius to develop a "Chinese model" of the ideology of socialism.

Musical studies were presented for the first time in the subject-matter of Oriental-scholars conferences. Papers and presentations of specialists in this sector of Oriental studies (the co-chairman of the musical-studies commission of the AAOS and leader of the World Musical Cultures Problems Sector of the Moscow State Conservatory, Dzh.K. Mikhaylov, and musical scholars Ye.V. Vasilchenko, A.S. Alpatova, S.P. Volkova, B.A. Avramets and N.G. Khakimov among others) were assigned to different sections in accordance with the principle for conducting the conference. They were all united, however, by one principal theme—the interaction and mutual influence of cultures and civilizations and the musical cultures of the Oriental countries.

Dzh.K. Mikhaylov, in the paper "Civilizational Factors and Their Interaction in the Musical Culture of the Countries of Asia and Africa," devoted chief attention to the culturological aspect in approaching music as a phenomenon being considering not only as sound and music matter, but also musical culture as a complex organized system in which the musical matter occupies the central position, but the means of bringing it to life—musicians, musical instruments, forms of organizing musical life, the listening audience etc.—are no less important. Every musical culture in turn exists under certain natural conditions, in this or that hierarchically organized society and in a certain historical time period. The variety of manifestations of musical culture in time and space and the specific nature of its ethnic manifestations give rise to the subdivision of the world's music

into a series of regional civilizations (commonality of ideology, language, social institutions, denominations etc.) and the awareness of their unity. The regions of South Asia, Southeast Asia, the Far East and the Near and Middle East among others are delineated on the basis of these traits.

The paper also considered issues of musical terminology, especially the term "music" and its substance and treatment in various civilizations.

The nature, forms and paths of interaction of musical cultures belonging to the civilizations of the Far East was the topic of the paper by Ye.V. Vasilchenko (Moscow). It noted the most important traits of the commonality of these cultural systems both at the level of overall world considerations and at the level of musical culture in particular, as well as the unique features delineating these cultures from the cultures of other civilizations. She cited among the principal channels of interactions of these cultures the orchestral tradition, the tradition of playing the long zither, the realm of Buddhist cult music, music in theatrical productions, musical institutions and the foundations of the science of music.

B.A. Avramets (Riga) devoted his presentation to the interaction of Arab-Muslim and African musical cultures, showing how in a number of the medieval states of sub-Saharan Africa a specific sub-civilization took shape in which some elements of the musical culture of the Islamic world were widespread, as well as noting the influence of African musical cultures on the culture of the countries of the Near and Middle East (especially the countries of North Africa). The report of A.S. Alpatova (Moscow), "The Specific Nature of the Influence of the Indian Musical Civilization on the Musical Traditions of Southeast Asia in the Period of the 9th-14th Centuries," covered the problem of the dynamics of musical contacts between the regions of South and Southeast Asia. The penetration of Indian culture into Southeast Asia was facilitated by the Buddhist monasteries, the palace culture (ceremonial tradition) and the creativity of wandering troupes of actors and musicians, among other things. It was noted herein that borrowing was a consequence of the exceedingly specific selection by the perceiving civilization, consequently accompanied by a considerable transformation of the Indian models employed, insofar as by the beginning of especially noticeable Indian influences Southeast Asia was already a formed civilizational complex.

S.P. Volkova (Moscow) revealed the basic types of musical traditions typical of the Chinese communities residing in the countries of Southeast Asia and North America. N.G. Khakimov (Dushanbe) considers the socio-cultural parameters of the functioning of the musical arts of the Iranian peoples in the era of antiquity and early Middle Ages as a system of relations uniting a multitude of diverse forms, in the aggregate of which this musical culture is realized integrally as an art form.



The papers of the musical scholars elicited lively discussion, especially on issues of terminology. The terms "civilization" in its general meaning and "musical civilization," "culture" and "musical culture" were compared along with other questions. The fact that research in the realm of musical culture was called a promising direction in Soviet Oriental studies also testifies to the interest in musical studies problems at the conference. And, as G.K. Shirokov (Moscow) noted, the papers of the musical scholars showed a new approach to studying the processes of the development of civilization, and music as a distinctive indicator of its evolution and level of development. This aspect has not as yet come into the field of view of Oriental scholars, and the leadership of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute and the AAOS thus had a positive regard for the activity of the Musical Studies Commission.

A session of the AAOS Presidium was held during the conference. A report on the work of the presidium and commissions of AAOS over the year was made by AAOS Deputy Chairman D.D. Vasilyev. Questions of making this organization more active were discussed.

The results of the conference were summarized by M.S. Kapitsa.

The resolution adopted by the conference participants emphasized that the tasks facing Soviet Oriental scholars are extremely significant and diverse: it is essential to develop theoretical problems of historical and cultural development of the peoples of the foreign Orient; to develop a comprehensive interdisciplinary approach to Oriental-studies research; to concentrate efforts on the fulfillment of the comprehensive program "Historical Paths of Development of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America"<sup>5</sup>; to make the development of the basic problems of the contemporary struggle of the peoples of Asia for social progress, the foreign-policy activity of the USSR in relation to the developing countries etc. more active; to implement the collaboration of specialists of various disciplines in nomadic, source studies and cultural studies; to improve the coordination of Oriental-studies research in the country; to develop historical-, cultural- and religious-studies research; and, to achieve a fundamental restructuring of higher Oriental-studies education—the close collaboration of higher schools with the academies of science and a rise in the theoretical level of education. The resolution also included specific proposals that were advanced at the sessions of sections.

It was decided to hold the next, 4th Conference of Soviet Oriental Scholars in Makhachkala in 1991.

#### Footnotes

\*—Materials used in preparing the survey from: A.S. Agadzhanyan, S.P. Volkova, V.N. Goreglyad, O.I. Giginshvili, I.I. Ivanova, V.I. Kornev, S.G. Klyashtornyy, B.A. Litvinskiy, A.V. Malashenko, N.N. Nigmatov, A.L. Khromov, M.A. Cheshkov and G.K. Shirokov.

1. See: SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE. 1957, No 6; SOVREMENNY VOSTOK. 1957, No 2.

2. See: NARODY AZII I AFRIKI. 1983, No 6; "Soviet Oriental Studies. Problems and Prospects." Moscow, 1988.

3. The basic provisions of the paper were set forth in the article: G.F. Kim. "Oriental Studies Under Conditions of Restructuring."—NARODY AZII I AFRIKI. 1988, No 5.

4. An article based on this paper has been published. See: A.T. Tursunov. "Some Theoretical Problems of the Interaction of Cultures and Civilizations."—NARODY AZII I AFRIKI. 1988, No 5.

5. See NARODY AZII I AFRIKI. 1988, No 2, p 94. COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki", Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1988

#### Conference on State and Society in China Reviewed

18070186i Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 88 pp 145-150

[Article by N.I. Fomina: "The 19th Academic Conference 'Society and State in China'"]

[Text] The conference was held 2-4 Mar 88 at the Oriental Studies Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Taking part in the work were China scholars from academic and practical organizations of the Soviet Union. Over 130 papers were presented on source studies, historiography and the history and culture of China. Certain papers, however, can only be conditionally relegated to this or that group of traditional topics. The very nature of "comprehensiveness" of research of Chinese-studies problems has changed. Whereas earlier an "interchange" of problems was observed within disciplines devoted to researching China, today scholars are resorting more and more to the comparison of their topics with the materials of other countries and regions and are linking up with other sectors of academics more and more boldly, in certain cases making use of the techniques of the natural and mathematical sciences as well as various liberal-arts fields.

Along with exclusively informational papers and reports on the new stage of many years of research, more and more attempts are being made to comprehend the unknown or to look at accustomed subjects in a new and original perspective. Since the majority of the conference material was published in the anthologies "The 19th Academic Conference 'Society and State in China'" Volumes 1-3, Moscow 1988, the principal attention of the survey has thus been devoted just to some new directions in Soviet Chinese studies.

The changes that have occurred in recent years are most clearly revealed in source studies. Researchers are moving from the traditional analysis of texts to analyzing the thought systems of their composers. They are addressing the texts with fundamentally new questions and are obtaining the possibility of re-interpreting them in a different manner, thereby creating a direction that could be conditionally called "theoretical source studies." The paper of S.V. Zinin (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) considered the term "correlative thinking" of Dzh. Nidem, which the author defines not as a particular way of thinking, but as a set pattern for systematizing the world consisting of three parts: 1) micro- and macrocosm (Heaven and Earth, man and society); 2) the principle of homomorphism (man and space) and 3) the traditional set of structural patterns and tools (*wu xing* and *ba gua* among others). Such a systematization is typical not only of traditional China, but can also be traced in some other countries as well. A.M. Karapetyants (ISAA [Institute of the Countries of Asia and Africa] of MGU [Moscow State University]) set forth his views of the ancient Chinese systemology (*xitong*—"attachment to unity"), which, as opposed to the Han numerology, which was a pseudo-science, was a proto-Chinese scholarly apparatus with a continuity that can be traced from the Neolithic period (Banpo). Revealing the systemological aspect of the character, the author showed the connection of the systemology with the productive and cultural activity of ancient Chinese society. In his opinion, systemology as a method of organizing the conceptual apparatus and thinking are alternatives to the language of traditional academics constructed on the basis of logic but thereby converging with contemporary science, which rejects strict causality and linear ties. A.I. Kobzev (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) pointed out the ties of numerical methodology with the universal classificationism so typical of Chinese philosophy and culture. He illustrated the classificationist view of the world in traditional China with the existence of a developed system of classifiers (counting words), the number of which roughly coincides with the quantity of principal categories of Chinese philosophy and culture, while the one and the other conform to the numerical parameters of the normative classification sets (60 pairs of cyclical signs, 64 hexagrams etc.).

The report of O.M. Kalinin (Leningrad) and K.Ye. Cherevko (USSR Academy of Sciences IDV [Far East Institute]), who propose linking the 64 hexagrams with the same quantity of squares of a chessboard (beginning with the proto-chess *qi*) and with the 64 codings of the genetic code, is close in theme to the paper of A.I. Kobzev. The comparison of these numerical features, in their opinion, makes it possible to see the isomorphism of various segments of the noosphere. They relate their inquiry to the new academic direction of space anthroecology, which is striving to uncover the general laws characteristic of everything living. T.G. Stroechevaya (Leningrad Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) noted that giving a rubric to

the most ancient of the bibliographies known to us—the "Categories of the Arts and Literatures" ("Yi wen zhi") of Ban Gu (1st century A.D.)—is itself an ancient classification of knowledge (basic information about the world, philosophy, poetry, military arts, divination and medicine). But of even greater interest in the first classification of the arts done by Ban Gu under the name of the "six arts" (music, poetry, ritual, the art of writing, chronicles and knowledge of the Universe), which are comparable with the seven free arts of the world of antiquity (grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, music, geometry and astrology). M.V. Isayeva (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute), in considering the significance of music in the traditional types of sources—"normative writings" (*zheng shi*)—noted the similarity of a number of parameters between natural philosophy and the musical system *lü*. In her opinion, it is namely for this reason that Chinese systematizers utilized the *lü* as a meta-language for a general theory of knowledge.

A group of papers was devoted to the problem of "text-category." A.A. Krushinskiy (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) proposed employing a "theoretical-category" approach to creating a formal semantics for ancient Chinese texts. The possibility of employing the apparatus of category theory to solve this problem is based on three elements: 1) the specific features of reference characters that bring them closer to the terms of the main body, 2) the correlative (and not predicative as among words in the European languages) nature of the ties among characters and 3) the specific non-linear structure of the texts described by V.S. Spirin. Cited as an example is the logical scheme of "reasoning by analogy," which, not being the sole one, was nonetheless quite widely employed among the ancient Chinese. Z.G. Lapina (ISAA), employing the structural scheme of the "five factors" from Shujing (*wu shi*) correlated with the scheme of the "five elements" (*wu xing*) to the political texts of medieval China, established the hierarchy of the principal categories and detected that the main texts of the treatises are clearly linked with this or that factor of the system of *wu shi*. This made it possible to uncover the specific features of the construction and functioning of the medieval political texts, as well as to elaborate the new facets of the conceptual system of the political culture of China. L.I. Borokh (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) noted the importance of a suitable understanding of the terminology of the characters of China during a new time period of reconstruction of their world perceptions. A familiarity of Chinese society with Western ideas occurred in the 19th century that led to the creation of a new system of conceptual apparatus often distorted by the difficulties of translation. The history of attempts of Ling Qichao to rehabilitate the true sense of the term "liberty," a key one in the concept of liberalism, was traced using that term, for example. He felt that the accepted translation—"zìyóu"—carried a nuance of willfulness, and he proposed using the term "*zìzhì*"—"freedom within the bounds of the law." In treating this Confucian concept in

a non-traditional manner, he transmitted the essence of Western doctrines of liberalism. Speaking in the debates, K.I. Shilin (USSR Academy of Sciences IF [Institute of Philosophy]) noted that attempts to explain Oriental thinking using Western categories have already exhausted themselves and that it would be more productive to look at the West through the eyes of the East.

Historiography was basically represented by papers that illuminated the study of these or those problems of Chinese historians. S. Kuchera (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) reported on the recent achievements of Chinese archaeologists who have unearthed and described a craniological series at Gumugou (Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region). The most ancient inhabitants of this region of East Turkestan belonged to the Balkan-Caucasian offshoot of the Europoid race. They are one of the most ancient and most eastern of the Europoids that have been studied thus far. It is possible that Mongoloids lived in parallel with them there. V.M. Kozhin (IDV) reported on a new stage in studying the ancient history of China—the changing approach to researching the ritual-magic writing of the Yin period. Scholars have addressed reconstructing the process of divination and uncovering its role in the socio-political practices of the Yin rulers and its links with the process of the origins of proto-science. The development of a historical grammar and ritual formulations and ideograms in which are reflected the specific ethnic nature of the thinking and the specific features of the logic and psychology of their creators is being conducted in parallel fashion.

V.G. Doronin (LGU [Leningrad State University]) and A.M. Grigoryev (USSR Academy of Sciences INION [Institute of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences]) related the contemporary state of Chinese historical science. They noted the beneficial influence of the process of declassification of archival materials, the steadfast attention to the publication of series of artifacts and anthologies of documents and attempts to construct historical research on a basic historical-studies basis. L.A. Bereznny (LGU) expressed dissatisfaction with the accepted treatment of the concepts of “democratic dictatorship of the people” connected with the concept of “socialism with a specific Chinese nature.” He feels that the concept, introduced in the summer of 1949 on the eve of the creation of the PRC, should be considered an attempt, on the one hand, to summarize the cumulative experience of building revolutionary power in certain regions of China and, on the other hand, to define the social nature of the new China-wide statehood taking shape. The theory of “new democracy,” which historians link only with the name of Mao Zedong even though the problem of its authorship requires further elaboration, arose in the process of summarizing this experience. This theory is moreover illegitimately considered without regard for either its evolution or its eclectic nature. A.S. Kostyayeva (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) noted a new aspect in considering the history of secret societies in recent and modern times by

PRC historians. Whereas earlier they were regarded chiefly as a socio-political phenomenon, now they are being studied as a phenomenon of social life engendered by the negative and destructive processes that transpired in Chinese society at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th.

Yu.V. Chudodeyev (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) related the study of the activity of Soviet advisors in the PRC during the revolutionary period of 1925-27. This is a topic which has become familiar to Chinese readers thanks to the translations of memoirs of representatives of the Soviet Union in China in the 1920s into Chinese, and has become the object of study of Chinese historians. They have a high regard for the activity of M.M. Borodin among others, noting at the same time their errors in understanding the role of Chang Kaishi and the Kuomintang.

History was represented at the conference principally by research on specific issues, among which predominated papers devoted to the problems of the contacts of China with neighboring countries or the mutual relations of the center and the periphery. Problematical papers were few in number.

I note among the papers on ancient history and the Middle Ages the paper of A.V. Varenov (IIFiF of the USSR Academy of Sciences SO [Siberian Division]). Using data from archaeological finds, he reconstructed the composition and interaction of detachments of the Yin army. S.I. Blyumkhen (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) tried to reconstruct the process of evolution of the beliefs of the Zhous. In the 11th century B.C., striving to conquer the state of Shan-Yin, the Zhous spoke of the their sponsorship by the supreme deity—the totem ancestors of the Shans—Shan-Yin. Coming to power having created a multi-tribal state, they established the cult of Heaven as an ethnically neutral deity. Using folklore materials and depictions of the Zhou weaponry, S.I. Blyumkhen has proposed that the totems of the Zhou tribes were predatory strains of felines, later transformed into the zooanthropomorphic deity of Xiwang and displaced by the cult of Heaven by the 6th century B.C. E.S. Kulpin (IMRD [Institute of the International Workers' Movement] of the USSR Academy of Sciences) considered the question of the mutual influence of nature and society in China from the Zhou to the Han, in a period when changes in natural conditions placed a dilemma before society: either become degraded or compensate for losses through a sharp rise in the culture of cultivation. The choice of the second path conditioned the vested interest of society in state intervention in the production process, the inefficiency of slave labor and the so-called noble tillage (Chinese version of a well system) and the development of a leasing system.<sup>1</sup> Yu.L. Krol (Leningrad Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) expressed doubt regarding the legitimacy of defining the emperors Qin and Han as despots. He recalled that the law came to be higher than the will of the reigning

monarch and that he had to observe it. The power of the emperor was limited in this or that form, which can be illustrated using the example of the "agreement" of the Han emperor Gao-Zu with major dignitaries. The emperor was restricted in the distribution of grants, which later became a law for his successors in connection with the deification of the founder of the dynasty. Speaking in the debates, T.P. Grigoryeva (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) noted that Heaven should not encourage despotism, since it possesses *ren* (humanity). T.N. Stepugina also asserted that regulated humanity is a system for suppressing the person. V.M. Rybakov (Leningrad Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) considered a special form of the dependence of the population in the traditional states of Asia—its attachment not to the means of production (lands, workshops etc.), but rather to official functions. In the code of the Tang Dynasty (7th-10th centuries), attachment was extended to all segments of the population from slaves to high officials. Violations of it were punished as a capital crime. The forms of the limitation of freedom of movement varied depending on the situation. During the fulfillment of the labor obligation, the individually free was equated with the individually dependent. Awaiting removal for labor obligations, the individually free enjoyed freedom of movement, but they could not change their "homestead." The same thing went for the military obligation. Movement for the purpose of trade, education or career was permitted as long as the "homestead" continued to pay taxes. Otherwise it was punished as flight. Not only flight from the army, but also premature departure when the army was returning from a campaign were punishable. The flight of an official from his job or the voluntary departure of an administrator outside the territory entrusted to him, even if the absence did not last more than a day, were punished. Those absent from an official post were also subject to punishment. Attachment was thus not only spatial, but temporal as well. There was also a specific type of dependence—"attachment to the road"—that extended to all those traveling on official duties, from an exiled criminal to an official going to his job. A.A. Bokshchanin (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) described the process of forming a subsegment of the hereditary aristocracy in which, aside from imperial relatives, there were also "honored dignitaries." He feels that their role in the socio-political life of China, especially during the Ming period (14th-17th centuries), is as yet not properly regarded. O.V. Zotov (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) researched the specific features of the foreign policy of imperial China, characterized by the term "the weak control of barbarians," which testifies to the formal recognition of the equal rights of neighbors. The strategy of Sun-Zi—"vanquish the already vanquished"—that employed not so much military force as economic, diplomatic and psychological pressure was regarded as being of paramount importance. This policy, which arose in antiquity, passed through the whole Middle Ages and was actively utilized by the Qings (1644-1911) in fighting for influence in Central Asia.

A number of papers were devoted to recent and modern history. N.I. Tyapkina (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) feels it is essential to reconsider the accustomed viewpoint that the Chinese state was a tool for class dominion. In her opinion, this formulation is unacceptable for class-estate states. Such states establish legal norms based on estate divisions, the foundation of which is comprised of a system of public-law inequality of various groups of the population. Using the example of Qing China, she compared the economically ruling class of large landowners and the principal privileged estate—the Shenshi—from the point of view of their access to the sphere of administration and sources of income.

The economically ruling class did not have access to power, since the Shenshi had an absolute monopoly on the sphere of administration, and thereby on the appropriation of rent-taxes. About a quarter of the GNP went to the 2 percent of the overall population that the Shenshi comprised. The state facilitated the transformation of the Shenshi into large landowners, a tool for the interests of the privileged estates rather than class rule. In studying states of a similar type, the chief attention should be devoted not to class relations, but rather to social stratification. O.Ye. Nepomnin (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) proposed considering the Chinese revolutions of the 20th century from the angle of a synthesis of the traditional and the contemporary, traditional principles with new social phenomena. Two channels of struggle had formed by the beginning of the century: against domestic reaction and foreign imperialism (the latter combining the two strains of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism), on the one hand, and great Han chauvinism and xenophobia, on the other. They comprised a fusion of the reactionary and the progressive, and were then complicated by the inclusion of the bourgeois nationalism of an oppressed nation. After the "May 4th Movement" of 1919, Marxist teachings existing alongside the "anti-imperialism—xenophobia" dichotomy penetrated into the ideology of China. The fight against domestic reaction included anti-feudal, anti-Manchu and anti-dynastic thrusts. A synthesis of the anti-government struggle with the national-liberation and anti-colonial movements occurs in parallel with the maturation of the new democratic movement. Even the early Chinese revolutionaries headed by Sun Yatsen combined modern tasks with the practices of traditional forms of the struggle.

The three landmark revolutions (1911, 1925, 1949) were based on a synthesis of the old and the new: militarism and revolution, military and civilian principles. The force and volume of old components were reduced with each revolution, giving way to new elements of the synthesis, but no radical restructuring occurred and society did not become fundamentally new, continuing to preserve a revolutionary nature.

Ye.Yu. Staburova (Latvian State University) made an attempt to re-interpret the role and place of the United Union (Tongmynhoy) in the Xinhai revolution. She feels

that, having arose like any other party, the union began to develop according to the laws of a secret brotherhood in which the process of disintegration of forces and their replenishment had not ceased. By the time of the Uchan uprising, notwithstanding the absence of a cohesive core, the union was able to extend its influence widely. In October-December 1911 individual members of the party went in the vanguard, while the party overall did not display any activeness. The author feels that the definition of the union as a bourgeois party does not reflect all of the complexity of its social-class composition, where the bourgeoisie was represented only by emigrants and re-emigrants from the *huaqiao* and was one of many social groups of the union. The ideological postulates of the party moreover just inconsequentially coincided with the interests of the free entrepreneurs.

A.S. Mugruzin (IDV) saw the roots of the contradictions in the peasant environment of old China in the specific nature of certain institutions and the position of groups associated with them. On the one hand, there existed the petty-capitalist institution that was represented by the enriched peasants, and the petty-trade (middle) ones; they were opposed by the traditional institution, including the majority of the peasants. With the multitudinous population and little land, the paupers did not receive anything even in the event of the implementation of the slogan "For every plowman, his own field." Whence the extreme egalitarianism that forced a guarded attitude toward it by so many rich peasants. Instead of the cohesion of the peasants on the basis of unified interests, a union of the haves against the have-nots arose. The agrarian turnaround was not prepared socio-economically.

Culture was represented by thematically diverse papers reflecting the spiritual culture of traditional China. V.V. Chubarov (USSR Institute of History) compared the stages of development of technology in China and Europe. He considers the period before the 2nd millennium B.C. as the zero stage, when both regions were not yet ready to borrow the new ideas born in the Near and Middle East. At the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C., China and Europe were as before the technological periphery of the Near and Middle East, but the process of borrowing had begun to accelerate. A psychological readiness of the population to accept ideas took shape. By the end of the 1st millennium B.C., many inventions began to affect all three regions in effect simultaneously. By the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., the rapid development of China had become evident. By the 11th-12th centuries, the technological gap between China and Europe reached its maximum. After the 12th-13th centuries, improvements in Chinese technical culture slowed, and development took the path of modernization and optimization of known devices. By the middle of the 18th century, Europe was comparable to China in a technological regard, and then moved sharply past it. The author feels the causes for the shift in leaders should be sought in the founding principles of formational and civilizational development.

A group of papers was devoted to religious and philosophical ideas of traditional China. G.E. Gorokhova (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) proposed a return to determining the views of the authors of the "Zhuang-Zi" as mystical, as it was for the early V.M. Alekseyev and L.D. Pozdneyeva. She noted that a mystical world view is not considered in Soviet historiography as an independent historical and cultural phenomenon, but is unsystematically reduced to several philosophical patterns. Ye.A. Torchinov (Leningrad Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) feels that the possibility of constructing a model for the interaction of Buddhism and the substratal ideological forms of the countries where it is widespread currently exists. He considers the problem using the example of Taoist-Buddhist interaction in China. The fusion of philosophical naturalism of the Taoist tradition and the psychologism of Indian Buddhism led to the ontologization of Buddhist psychologism and spiritualization of the Chinese schools subject to its influence. The author proposes studying the interaction of Taoism and Buddhism at the doctrinal-dogmatic, discursive-philosophical and psycho-technical levels. A.A. Maslov (IDV) proposed that the continuum of tradition preserved in the secret societies is a phenomenon of a psychological nature supported by the methods of meditative practices. He expressed the hypothesis of the existence not of two types of secret organizations in traditional China, but rather a unified structure of individual societies subdivided into two levels: the "wen" ("civil")—the core of the associations corresponding to the secret religious sects—and the "wu" ("military"), outwardly open societies that corresponded to secret unions.

At the concluding session, L.D. Delyusin (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute), V.G. Gelbras (IMRD of the USSR Academy of Sciences) and Ya.M. Berger (INION) presented papers devoted to the contemporary situation in China and the successes and difficulties of the economic reforms being pursued there. Summing up the results of the conference, L.P. Delyusin noted the high standard of the reports presented.

#### Footnotes

1. For more detail see the article by E.S. Kulpin, "Concepts of the Socio-Natural History of China" in this issue. COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki", Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1988

#### Events, Activities in Oriental Studies

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[News items contributed by S.Ye. Drozdova, L.Ye. Sklyarov, K.Yu. Lipovskiy, Ye.Yu. Surova, N.V. Kolesnikova, I.V. Belikov, V.D. Atkin and L.R. Kontsevich: "Chronicle Notes"]

[Text]

### Moscow—USSR Ministry of Culture

The India festival in the USSR has become an important event in the history of the mutual relations of both countries. It has facilitated the further convergence of the peoples of the USSR and India and the reinforcement of friendship and collaboration between them, as USSR Minister of Culture V.G. Zakharov noted at a press conference for Soviet and Indian journalists that was held in Moscow on 23 Jun 88.

The extensive program of the India festival conducted by the Soviet Union in accordance with the agreement between the governments of the USSR and India has been completed. It covered more than 130 cities in the Soviet Union.

Some 1,600 Indian artists appeared before audiences in 2,300 concerts. Folk-dancing groups from practically every state in India along with the best theatrical collectives—the Chakravayukha group, the Yakshagana traditional theater, the puppet theater from the state of Rajasthan, the Naya group of Habib Tanvir and the Nicher Mahal group under Aptal Datta—demonstrated their art.

Some 20 exhibitions presented in 25 cities of the country were visited by over 2 million people. Some expositions were truly unique, for example the "Classical Art of India from 3,000 B.C. to the 19th Century A.D.," "Indian Decorative and Jewelry Art of the 17th—Beginning of the 20th Centuries," "Indian Painting (1900-1947) from the Collection of the National Gallery of Modern Art," "Retrospective Exhibition of the Works of D. Reya, A. Sher-Gil and R. Tagora" and the "Exhibition of Modern Textiles and the Textiles of Tribes Showing Models of Dress." The exhibition "Mahatma Gandhi. The Indian Revolution" occupied a special place among the exhibits.

The conference of Indian and Soviet societies "The Mutual Influence and Ties of the Peoples of India and the USSR in Various Spheres over the Course of the Centuries to the Present Day" evoked great interest, as did the seminars "Perspectives on the Indian Revolution," "The Development of Agriculture," "The Position of Women in India," "Women and Labor," "Science and Technology," "Media and Information: Tradition and Modern Times" and "Indian Civilization: Diversity and Unity" among others.

Indian cinematography showed more than 100 works during the festival.

Indian President Venkataraman was present at the official closing of the India festival in the USSR.

### USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute

The All-Union Academic Conference "Specific Features of the Development of Capitalism in the Countries of the Near and Middle East (Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan and Turkey)," organized by the Near and Middle East Department, was held at the institute in April of 1988. Taking part in it, aside from the scientific associates of the institute, were scholars from the Oriental-studies centers of Ashkhabad, Baku, Dushanbe, Yerevan, Kaluga, Leningrad and Tashkent, as well as academic institutions of Moscow. Some 23 papers were presented at the conference around which animated discussion developed.

The general and the particular in the capitalist transformation of the countries of the Arab world was described by S.L. Stoklitskiy (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute). He subjected to verification the sum theoretical depictions of the evolution of "Oriental capitalism" that were formulated, as a rule, using materials from the countries of Indostan and a limited circle of others, primarily the major states of Southeast Asia. The speaker noted in particular the intensiveness of the processes of capitalist modernization in the region, which, despite the widespread dissemination of depictions, do not run up fatally against the "blank wall of dualism"; he considered the existing variations of capitalist modernization of backward Arab society; he addressed the unclear forms of strengthening dependence of the Arab world on external development factors at the current stage of scientific and technical revolution. The speaker also pointed out the vested interest of the centers of world capitalism in stimulating the development of the Arab periphery of the world capitalist economy.

P.P. Moiseyev (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) dwelled on the specific features of the genesis and functioning of monopolies in the developing countries of the Orient. The fact of the modernization of production and capital in a number of the countries of Asia and Africa that have advanced the most along the bourgeois path is obvious by now, in his opinion. Disputes are growing sharper, however, on the issue of namely just what stage the development of monopolies has reached there. Some scholars assume that the appearance of these monopolies in no way signifies the ensuing of a monopolist stage in the development of national capitalism; others assert that in some of the liberated countries tendencies and elements of GMK [state-monopoly capitalism] have already appeared. P.P. Moiseyev feels that the multi-institutionality and overall poor development of the countries of the Orient and the presence there of a strong state-capitalist institution along with the special role of external factors in them have all created a situation in which monopolistic capital has not yet been able to take the dominant position in either the economic or the political life of the countries under consideration.

S.B. Druzhilovskiy (MGIMO [Moscow State Institute of International Relations]), noting that capitalist relations in Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan have arisen and developed chiefly "from above" through despotic and forced methods, described the causes for the low effectiveness of that development path of capitalism under which the capitalist institution remains "alien," artificial and not the result of the development of society itself.

B.Ya. Belokrenitskiy (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) devoted his presentation to some general questions of the development of capitalism in the regions of the Near and Middle Eastern countries. He emphasized the fundamental significance that the approach to the point of departure of capitalist evolution—the pre-capitalist social order—has. Noting the debatable nature of the problem, he singled out the idea of the pre-capitalist rent mode of production with a civilized modification, including feudal (Western European) and Oriental feudal with various sub-variations—Near and Middle Eastern (Islamic), Chinese, Indian etc. B.Ya. Belokrenitskiy pointed out among the specific features of the Asian pre-capitalist formation the corporative nature of the dominant class, the absence of patrimonial justice (a landed estate court), the economic opposition of the city and the village, the subordination of the city to state power, the weak revealing of the interests of the urban community, the constant pressure of livestock-breeding nomads on farms and other traits. A genetic link can be traced in existing social systems to their predecessors—a hypertrophy of the state principle, the corporative nature of the ruling segment, the relative weakness of large, and the more so medium-sized, capital and the whole private business sector, the weakly expressed social antagonism of large and small landowners, the relative strength of communal institutions and the different types of traditional and non-traditional ties.

L.Ye. Sklyarov (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) described the general laws of the development of capitalism in Iran as conditioned by the historical conditions in which it occurred. The development of money-exchange relations of a bourgeois type was caused by the vested interest of the capitalistically developed countries in receiving raw materials from Iran and marketing consumer goods there. A "truncated" system of reproduction took shape there as a result under which the production of raw materials and the sale of finished products were accomplished within the country by traditional methods, while the processing of raw materials and the production of industrial output took place outside the boundaries of the country, in other words, a synthesis of contemporary capitalist structures outside the country with pre-capitalist and traditional ones inside the country transpired. Such a synthesis did not stimulate the development of national industrial production and brought about the stagnation of the economy. Under these conditions it was namely the state that had to display initiative in the matter of the emergence of capitalist industry. The state in Iran, as opposed

to the Western countries where capitalism had developed along an ascending line from lower forms to higher ones, was forced to take the path of sowing developed forms of capitalist production, primarily state-monopoly ones, and then building "missing" structures out of the elements of the traditional structures in disarray, i.e. taking a different path to the emergence of a model of capitalism of the same type as in the Western countries in the future without ruling out, however, a definite specific nature, for the purpose of rapidly overcoming economic backwardness.

G.I. Starchenkov (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) and S.M. Ivanov (LGU [Leningrad State University]) considered the significance of the external factor in the genesis and development of capitalist relations in Turkey. G.I. Starchenkov expressed the opinion that the conception of capitalist relations in the Ottoman Empire occurred as the result of the development of productive relations themselves, while the effects of the external factor at the initial stages was to a large extent a drag on the development of capitalism rather than facilitating it. Only after World War II did the external factor come to play the role of accelerator. S.M. Ivanov set forth a different point of view according to which the external factor played a decisive role in the appearance and development of capitalist relations in the Ottoman Empire. I.L. Fadeyeva (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute), analyzing the initial stage of capitalist development in Turkey in the 19th century and first half of the 20th, noted that the civilizational genotype of Ottoman society could not lead to the spontaneous appearance of capitalist relations or forms of production in it, and they had to be planted "from above." The paper showed the complex and contradictory path of the incorporation of capitalist relations into Ottoman society. N.A. Kuznetsova (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) considered the forms of capitalist entrepreneurship in Iran in the 19th-20th centuries, noting that the lower forms of capitalist entrepreneurship had appeared as early as the 18th century, while the first mills had appeared in the middle of the 19th century, which, it is true, were soon ruined by competition from foreign capital. N.M. Mamedova (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) analyzed the specific features of the development of "urban" capitalism in Iran. Describing the stages of its emergence in the 19th and 20th centuries, she noted that in the 1970s a monopolization of the market by state and private companies occurred, which took the leading position in the market by virtue of the fact that they had been created right away in the form of very large enterprises, chiefly affiliates of the MNCs [multinational corporations]. The state and private monopolies essentially closed off opportunities for the development of capitalism "in breadth" in the middle of the 1970s, especially under conditions of the state regulation of retail and wholesale prices, which also served as one of the causes of the Iranian revolution of 1978-79.

I.P. Ivanova (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) touched on issues of the applicability of the



theories of multi-institutionality, dual economy and "catch-up development" to the experience of the capitalist evolution of the Arab countries, considered the material shifts in their economies during the period of intensive transformations in the 1960s and 1970s and noted the increasing contradictions in their structures in the 1980s. Attempts are being undertaken in the majority of the countries of the region to resolve the problems that have arisen on a bourgeois basis.

A number of papers were devoted to questions of specific country topics. A.Ya. Sokolov (TashGU [Tashkent State University]) analyzed the process of the formation of absolutism in Afghanistan. M.T. Bodzholyan (Armenian SSR USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) dwelled on the preconditions for preserving capitalist relations in the eastern and southeastern vilayets of Turkey. A.D. Veliyev (AzSSR USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) considered credit policy in the economic strategy of the Turkish state. A.V. Pavlovskiy (MGIMO) the problems of socio-economic policy of the NDRA [People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan] in relation to the urban entrepreneurs of Afghanistan in the first stage of the April revolution. A.Sh. Rasizade (AzSSR USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) the process of development of military production in Turkey, and M.Yu. Morozova (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) specific features of capitalism in Pakistan. Sh.Z. Zaripov (Tajik State University) traced the process of the conception of elements of capitalism in the Afghan nomadic society before the April revolution of 1978. L.B. Aristova (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) considered the social infrastructure of Afghanistan during the period of national reconciliation. V.B. KlyashTORINA (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) devoted her paper to cultural and ideological aspects of the concepts of bourgeois modernization in Iran in the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s. S.F. Oreshkova (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) touched on issues of the heterogeneity of the structure of Ottoman feudal society as a point of departure for the genesis of capitalist relations. The topic of the paper by Ye.A. Doroshenko (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) was a comparative analysis of the revolutions of 1905-11 and 1978-79 and their role in the development of capitalism in Iran. V.I. Danilov (USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute) considered the paths of formation of the political superstructure in Turkey in the process of the development of capitalism.

Also taking part in the discussion were Yu.G. Aleksandrov, V.G. Rastyannikov, A.I. Demin and A.Z. Arabadzhyan (all of USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute).

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The 19th Academic Conference on the Study of Australia and Oceania was held at the institute on 19-20 May

88. The conference was opened by the chief of the Laboratory of Pacific Ocean Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute, K.V. Malakhovskiy.

Three papers on economic problems were presented. V.Ya. Arkhipov (Moscow), in the paper "Australia and ASEAN: Economic Relations in the First Half of the 1980s," noted that the ASEAN countries have markedly strengthened their positions in the Australian market in recent years. Further growth in their exports to Australia, however, is running into a number of limitations: high tariff barriers, quantitative limitations and the like. The speaker described the role of Australian trade protectionism in relation to the individual countries of ASEAN.

K.Yu. Lipovskiy (Moscow) considered some of the problems of maritime trade shipping in the region in the 1980s. He noted the increasing volumes of foreign trade, which defines the increasing role of maritime shipping. M.M. Solodkina (Moscow), in the paper "200 Years of the History of Capitalism in Australia (Experience and Lessons of Development)," described migrant capitalism as a special type of development that was not inherent within the framework of the customary notions of European and colonial capitalism. Relying on facts from Australian history and comparing them with events in the economic life of the United States, Canada, New Zealand and a number of other countries where similar conditions have existed, a model of migrant capitalism can be constructed. This model helps to elucidate the foundations of the vitality of capitalism as a mode of production at the contemporary stage and a digression from outdated notions of the steady worsening of the overall crisis of capitalism.

Various political-science and historical aspects of the development of the countries in the region were covered in a number of presentations. A.V. Torkunov (Moscow), in the paper "New Trends in the Development of the Situation in the Countries of Oceania and Their Foreign Political Ties," considered the most acute problems that have accumulated over the span of all the years of independence of the Oceanic states—stagnation in the economy, growing dependence on foreign aid, the narrowness of the export base, the worsening social problems as the result of the breakdown of traditional institutions, the deepening contradictions among nationalities and ethnic groups and, as a result, the intensification of the political struggle in many countries of the region. Political figures of the "new thinking" who in favor of the implementation of socio-economic transformations are moving more and more actively to center stage in these countries. This process is of a painful nature, however, and the specific conditions of many of the Oceanic countries are having a great influence on it. The topics of others papers were "Trade Unions of Australia and Anti-Worker Legislation of the Agrarian-Liberal Government of M. Fraser" by A.N. Perevinova (Moscow), "Russian Sailors and Travelers in the



Solomon Islands in the Second Half of the 19th Century" by Ye.V. Govor (Moscow), "The Bolsheviks and Russian Labor Emigration to Australia (1907-1917)" by A.I. Savchenko (Dnepropetrovsk) and "The Voyage of the Russian Corvette 'Rynda' to Australia to Celebrate a Century of British Colonies on the Fifth Continent" by A. Ya. Massova (Leningrad).

V.L. Reznikov (Moscow), in the paper "The Ethno-Social Situation and Separatist Movements in the Countries of Contemporary Oceania," noted that the solution of the most important economic, political and cultural tasks facing the states of Oceania has been made more difficult, as is well known, by a number of factors, including the geographical, ethnic and cultural fragmentation and diversity of the Oceanic world. Relations among ethnic groups as characterized by the "us-them" antithesis are taking on especial significance among these factors. Under the conditions of Oceania they are also projected to relations among tribes and clans and are manifested at the most varied of levels. The ethno-social situation in Oceania is also complicated by the fact that the Oceanic ethnic groups, being neighbors, are sometimes at different stages of development. A tribe, nationality and forming nation can all co-exist within the bounds of a single island.

A number of papers were devoted to the ethnographic problems of the countries in the Pacific basin. N.A. Butinov (Leningrad) talked about N.N. Miklukho-Maklay as a public figure. M.S. Bitunova (Leningrad) considered materials on the leadership cults of the Polynesians as represented in museum expositions of the 17th-19th centuries at the State Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism (Leningrad). Information on the past of the Polynesians and their traditional culture, and especially the cult of leaders typical of their religion, helps us to understand some of the features of the contemporary life of the island people.

V.R. Kabo (Moscow) noted in the paper "Shamanism as a Form of Religion of Early Primitive Society" that shamanism is one of the most brilliant and at the same time puzzling phenomena of primitive culture. Shamanism is almost the same universal form of primitive religion as sorcery or witchcraft, and like them it has deep historical roots. This is testified to by its existence at one of the earliest levels of socio-cultural development among the aborigines of Australia. Preserved in more developed social structures, shamanism remains at its foundation a typical outcome of primitive hunting cultures. O.Yu. Artemova (Moscow) devoted her paper to the history of domestic ethnography: the Australian-studies research of A.N. Maksimov, a profound and original scholar, today almost forgotten. His chief works have moreover not lost their theoretical and methodological significance even today. He deserves no small credit in the study and critical analysis of evolutionary methods in ethnography.

P.L. Belkov (Leningrad) gave the report "On the Problem of Primitive Ethnic Groups (Some Parallels Between Australia and New Guinea)." Proceeding from an analysis of comparisons of some similar elements of the ethnography of Australia and New Guinea, as well as intrinsically Australian materials and techniques for collecting them, he concluded that the "tribes" of aborigines are nothing more than artificial empirical constructions conditioned by the specific features of research consciousness. What boundaries and what "traits" a given "tribe" would possess depends on the field work, the techniques for collecting the materials, the goals of the researcher, the degree of his critical attitude toward the concept of the "tribe" and the conclusions of his predecessors etc. The topic of the paper of Ye.A. Kiselev (Kursk) was "Ethno-Botany of the Aborigines of Australia." The history of the term "ethno-botany" and that subject go back to the end of the 19th century. At its foundation is the attitude of the person toward the world of flora around him, the degree of incursion of the person into that world and its transformation. K.Yu. Meshkov (Moscow) illuminated some of the specific historical and ethnographic features of Polynesia. There are many riddles in the material and spiritual culture of the Polynesians, and moreover the search for the reasons for these specific features of the culture has led some researchers to pose the question of its regressive nature. It cannot be ruled out that much that is unclear in the history and culture of Polynesia can be explained by the replacement of the power of the pagan priests with the power of military leaders, which caused a partial regression. In the opinion of the author, Polynesia is an odd enclave of "Western" culture in eastern Oceania. Individual analogies with the culture of ancient India and partly with ancient Japan testify to the mutual ties of those cultures.

N.I. Novikova (Moscow) gave a paper on the travels of K.D. Balmont to Australia and Oceania. The Russian poet and traveler K.D. Balmont gathered a large collection in the course of his travels and gave it to the Museum of Anthropology of Moscow University. The paper provides a detailed description of the collection.

A number of papers were devoted to problems of linguistics and literary studies: "Modern Maori Prose (Principles of Living and Inter-Ethnic Relations)" by A.S. Petrikovskaya (Moscow), "The Novel 'Foss' by Patrick White. Experiment in Analysis" by Ye.Yu. Yemelyanova (Novosibirsk), "Australian Reality Words as Figurative Names" by V.V. Oshchepkova (Moscow) and "The World of Childhood in Maori Literature" by O.V. Zernetskaya (Kiev).

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A session of the participants in a roundtable devoted to some of the results of collective work on the series "Writers and Scholars of the Orient" was held at the institute on 28 Mar 88. Staff members from the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute, IMLI

[Institute of World Literature] imeni Gorkiy of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the members of editorial collegium for the series were invited to the session.

The session was opened by the chairman of the editorial collegium, Academician Ye.P. Chelyshev. He noted that the series was conceived as a means of familiarizing broad circles of Soviet readers with achievements in the realm of the culture and social thought of the peoples of the Orient. One feature of the series is the combination of a professional approach to the subject with an attractive form of exposition. The new name of the series—"Writers and Thinkers of the Orient"—was approved today, which will make it possible to include a number of new names in it that enjoy worldwide renown.

Over the 12 years of the series some 34 books have come out, a majority of them (15) having been written using Indian materials, 3 using Chinese, 4 using Japanese and 3 using materials from African countries. Such countries as Turkey, Mongolia, Afghanistan, Nepal and Sri Lanka are outside the bounds of the series. It can be hoped that by 1990 this imbalance will be partly overcome, and many of the "blank spots on the map" of the series will be removed. Ye.P. Chelyshev expressed a number of considerations on the circulation of books released in the series, the methods of popularizing them, their composition and the inclusion of artistic illustrative materials that became the subject of interested discussion at the session.

The later discussion included members of the new editorial collegium of the series: A.S. Gerasimova (secretary), L.L. Gromkovskaya, L.Ye. Cherkasskiy, B.A. Rozenfeld, A.S. Sukhochev (deputy chairman), A.D. Litman, L.F. Kertselli and I.D. Nikiforova. It was noted that the editorial collegium will have to resolve the issue of what prospects are opened up in connection with the change in the title of the series. Some of those speaking suggested that if the series is addressed to readers that are in one way or another connected with studying the problems of Oriental studies, literary studies or other social sciences, their artistic composition should be improved without changing the nature of the books being published. The circulation can remain as before, i.e. not to exceed 15,000 copies. The current practice of including a bibliography in the editions should also be retained. In the opinion of other participants in the discussion, the principal function of the series is illumination in the broadest sense of the word: it should be intended for the general reader. Its circulation should be brought to 25,000 at a minimum. This should, however, be preceded by active popularization work.

### **Soviet Sociological Association**

In April of 1988 the Philosophical Problems of International Relations Section of the USSR Philosophical Society and the Sociological Problems of the Developing Countries Section of the Soviet Sociological Association held a session on the topic "The New Political Thinking

and Topical Problems in the Development of Marxist Thought in Africa." Taking part in it were scholars and staffers from the ION [Institute of Social Sciences] and the AON [Academy of Social Sciences] of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR MID [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], MGIMO and the academic institutes of philosophy and Oriental studies.

It was noted at the session that the restructuring process in the Soviet Union and the revolutionary reforms in a number of other socialist countries are eliciting lively interest among the African public, a considerable portion of which supports the changes that are underway. The policy of a renewal of Soviet society is facilitating a rise in the reputation of the USSR in the countries of Africa, which is in turn creating the preconditions for an expansion of the interaction and collaboration of Soviet scholars with various segments of the African intelligentsia. The broad-scale foreign-policy initiatives of the Soviet leadership are expanding the opportunities for collaboration. The equivocal evaluation of the process of restructuring by some political forces in Africa was pointed out at the same time. Representatives of the bureaucratic apparatus of a number of countries, for example, concerned first and foremost with preserving their own social status, have an exceedingly guarded and even negative attitude toward the idea of the renewal of socialism and the new political thinking. Soviet social studies and African scholars face the task of a deeper analysis of the reactions of various social segments of the continent to those changes that are taking place in world socialism and the appearance of new potential partners for Soviet-African dialogue in this regard.

The participants in the session noted that the process of capitalist development on African soil is typified by an especially contradictory nature and is creating great social tensions, and this in turn is facilitating the intensification of searches for other, anti-bourgeois alternatives. Anti-capitalist sentiments are characteristic not only of representatives of the broad laboring masses, marginal individuals and paupers, but also a significant portion of the African intelligentsia as well, which is seeking a path of solving the most vital social problems based on principles of independence, equality and the elimination of exploitation. At the same time, another plane should not be lost sight of either—disillusionment, pessimism and a skeptical attitude toward the experiences of socialist construction, which were especially developed at the beginning of the 1980s under the influence of various factors. Among these factors were cited, first of all, difficulties in the economic sphere that the socialist countries have encountered and the lack of solutions to social problems in a number of them and, second, the grave situation of the majority of the socialist-oriented states that have been unable to achieve the successes that are associated with it and has not yet become a convincing alternative to capitalist development.

Many of those speaking had a critical regard for the state of social-science ties with the countries of Africa. The

extremely limited opportunities at the disposal of Soviet scholars to conduct research in the African countries themselves or to establish businesslike academic contacts or hold discussions with African social scientists were pointed out in particular. This situation is to a considerable extent explained by the bureaucratism and sometimes even irresponsibility of the apparatus that is currently charged with the task of developing those ties. It was also noted that printed matter (academic and popular) translated into other languages and sent to the countries of Africa by the publishing houses of APN [Novosti Press Agency] and Progress do not have a specific social addressee, are often unsatisfactory in content and do not familiarize readers with the latest ideas and concepts of Soviet social science.

The opinion was expressed during the course of discussion that it is essential to have an unbiased approach to analyzing the substance and evaluating a significant number of the works of African social scientists—which earlier received unequivocally negative reviews—in a new way with a regard for the changes that have occurred in Soviet social science, and to analyze the ideas they advance proceeding from the fact that far from all of the positions that were counter to them earlier (especially the concept of socialist orientation) have been confirmed in practice. It was also pointed out that Marxist thought itself in Africa is represented not so much by the communist parties as by the ruling vanguard workers' parties and the Marxist-oriented intelligentsia—groups with their own specific traits.

#### International Conference of Korea Scholars

The 12th annual conference organized by the Association of Korea Scholars in Europe (AKSE) based at the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies at Leiden University was held in Leiden (Netherlands) from 26 to 30 Mar 88.

Taking part in the work of the conference were about 120 specialists on Korea and the other countries of the Far East from 17 countries (Great Britain, France, West Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Japan, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Hungary and South Korea). The Soviet delegation included L.B. Nikolskiy and L.R. Kontsevich (both—Moscow), V.D. Atknin (Leningrad) and A.L. Zhovtis (Alma-Ata).

The subject matter of the conference, as in prior years, did not go beyond the traditional framework. Almost half of the 27 papers were devoted to problems in the history and ethnography of Korea from ancient times to the beginning of the 20th century. Two papers touched on the early period of Korean history. Chu Yonnin (South Korea) devoted his paper to the most typical items from excavations of the Bronze Age—bronze daggers in the shape of a "*pipkha*" (a Korean instrument like a lute) that were found on the territory of the Korean peninsula and northeastern China. Pak Yonsuk (Great

Britain) considered the issue of the derivation of the metallic items (gold crowns) of the Silla period and suggested the possible genetic link of those items with items from archaeological excavations in Siberia, Central Asia and Asia Minor. Also interesting was the paper of Li Sonmu (South Korea) on the extremely complex system of state examinations in the latter period of the rule of the Li dynasty.

A number of scholars spoke on questions of recent and modern history. H. Sorensen (Denmark) analyzed the substance of Korean Buddhist journals that came out during the period of Japanese colonial annexation. The materials were gleaned by him from five journals published in the period between 1912 and 1919. K. Fendler (Hungary), having selected as his topic the Japanese annexation of Korea and the position of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy on that issue, cited extremely valuable archival materials (reports of the Austro-Hungarian ambassador in Tokyo and the confidential correspondence of the Hungarian prime minister and other ministers). The events of this period—1) the conclusion of a treaty on establishing a protectorate, 2) the assassination of Ito Hirobumi, 3) the annexation of Korea and 4) the "May 1st Movement" of 1919—as covered by Bohemian newspapers was the topic of the presentation of V. Puceka (Czechoslovakia). Yun Byonsok (South Korea) told of the Korean secret mission of Li Sansol to the Hague International Peace Conference of 1907 and the tragic fate of one of the emissaries, Li Jun. The paper by Ko Somnu (Finland) acquainted those present with new materials on the life and activity of the legendary partisan commander Hon Bomdo.

The greatest interest and animated discussion among the papers touching on questions of ideology and religion was the paper by M. Setton (Great Britain) devoted to analyzing the teachings of *sinhak* ("real knowledge") in the creative work of its leading representative, Cho Dasan (1762-1836), who undertook, in the opinion of the author, an attempt to reconstruct the neo-Confucian philosophy. Cho Hedzhavn (South Korea) devoted her paper to the development of new forms of familyhood ("*famillisme*") and the new substance of this concept in contemporary Korea (against a historical background). Universal interest was elicited by the paper of A. Guillemeau (France) that was read in Korean on the shaman funeral dress, which he observed in 1986 in Seoul (where, according to 1983 data, there are more than 40,000 shamans and sorcerers). The report of A. Guillemeau was accompanied by a slide show and the playing of tape recordings of shaman songs.

A series of papers considered various aspects of Korean traditional culture. Pek-Howard Inok (Great Britain) shared her impressions regarding means and methods of studying Korean national music. K. Howard (Great Britain) told about the *pkhiri*, the Korean national wind instrument. L. Bogachkova (Czechoslovakia), using a wealth of materials, illustrated "animal" motifs in various genres of Korean art. The paper by I. Goetel (East

Germany) was devoted to the time structure of the Li dynasty on the territory of North Korea (with a slide demonstration). A slide show also accompanied the paper of B. Makkilop (Great Britain) titled "Illustrated Korean Books in the Collections of British Libraries."

Several papers covered literary-studies problems. A comparative analysis of the folklore plots of the tiger and the dried persimmon that are widespread in Korea and Japan was done by Son Giyol (South Korea). The report by Chon Jonhwa (South Korea) on colored images in *sijo* and translations of that popular genre of Korean classical poetry into English was interesting. Two papers were devoted to the literary sources of the 20th century. Z. Klyeslova (Czechoslovakia) told of an anthology of novellas that came from the pen of a famous writer of the first half of the 20th century, Li Hyosok. Kim Yunsik (South Korea) dwelled on the ties of Japanese and Korean proletarian literature based on the example of the works of Lim Hwa and Nakasone Sigeharu. G. Ogarek-Tsoy (Poland) devoted her paper to incarnations of the image of the warrior for the independence of Korea An Chungyn (1879-1910) in Korean literature—prose, poetry and drama. Two papers were especially devoted to problems of literary translation from Korean. A.L. Zhovtis (USSR) told of his own translations of Korean poetry into the Russian and Ukrainian languages. R. Rentner (East Germany) shared the difficulties that the translator encounters in translating Korean medieval prose into German.

Three of the papers on linguistics belonged to Soviet Korea scholars. L.R. Kontsevich presented a complete repertoire of the principal structural models of ancient Korean place-names and provided an analysis of the catalogued geographical place-names of Korea. L.B. Nikolskiy related the achievements of Soviet Korean-studies lexicography, various types of translation dictionaries and the difficulties that arise in the treatment of words in dictionaries. V.D. Atknin offered a contrasting consideration of the morphological structure of non-finite verb forms in the Korean and Tungusko-Manchurian languages. Three linguistics papers were read by South Korean scholars. Li Hyonbok (South Korea) gave a paper on the rhythms of individual lexical units in standard pronunciation among various bearers of the language. He also presented a report on the activity of the Korean Language Society (Hangyl Hakhwa). Ckhu Yonje (Great Britain) proposed the diachronistic consideration of the categories of tense and modality in the Korean language. A well-known specialist in the realm of the historical grammar of the Korean language and in Altay studies, Li Gimun (South Korea), commented on the new orthography that will go into effect in South Korea in 1989.

One session was devoted to a discussion of papers submitted but not read. Among them should be noted the paper by J. Genzor (Czechoslovakia) on the semantics of the passive in the Korean language and the paper

by K. Dege (West Germany) on the works of Lautensach on the economic development of Korea during the Japanese occupation.

The success of the conference was ensured by the great amount of preparatory work of AKSE President D. Boucher (France), secretary B. Volravena (Netherlands) and a number of Dutch scholars (F. Fosa and A. Olora among others).

At the concluding session the members of AKSE discussed and approved amendments to the charter and other items proposed by the AKSE Council. It was decided to hold the next conference in London in 1989. A new leader for the AKSE was elected: President F. Fabre (France). A new AKSE Council was also elected.

The participants in the conference heard the information of Doctor Boota on the study of Korean language and literature at Leiden University.

Soviet Korean-studies scholars have so far been invited to AKSE conferences as guests. Only by becoming full members of AKSE will they obtain the opportunity of taking active part in its activity. COPYRIGHT: "Narody Azii i Afriki", Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1988 1

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